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ABSTRACT

The process of nation building in Tanzania is the topic of this book, the sixth in a series dealing with African culture and intended for secondary level students. Almost all of the selections in the book were written by Africans, and they come from a variety of sources including speeches, government documents, newspaper and magazine articles, scholarly studies, and personal observations of students, political leaders, and others. The basic purpose of the book is to capture some of the feelings, aspirations, and experiences of black Africans and, by so doing, help the reader develop a sense of empathy and a feeling of identity with human beings everywhere, recognizing the common humanity that all men share. Discussion questions are provided for the selections. Some examples of reading selections follow. In one selection the land resources of Tanzania and how they are being used are described. Swahili proverbs that reflect the values of traditional life in Tanzania are presented in another reading. In a speech, President Nyerere argues that socialism is the natural economic system for Tanzania because it comes closest to the traditional life of the people. In another selection a young man complains about the changes in marriage practices and tribal authority in his area brought about by government policies. (Author/RM)

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Nation-Building: Tanzania and the World

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Unit VI of THROUGH AFRICAN EYES: CULTURES IN CHANGE

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Nation-Building

6

Freedom without discipline is anarchy; discipline without freedom is tyranny.

JULIUS NYERERE
President of the United Republic of Tanzania

Preface and Acknowledgments

Through African Eyes attempts to get "inside Africa" by going directly to the Africans themselves. Almost all of the selections in this unit were written by Africans, and they come from a variety of sources: speeches, government documents, newspaper and magazine articles, scholarly studies, and personal observations of students, political leaders, and others.

Unlike traditional textbooks, *Through African Eyes* does not try to "cover" all of Africa or to offer "expert" analysis by outside observers. Instead, it focuses on a few major themes and presents material that re-creates, as authentically and concretely as possible, the reality of African life. Interpretation is left to the reader. In effect, *Through African Eyes* has two major goals: to let Africans speak for themselves, and to let students think for themselves.

This unit deals with the process of nation-building in Tanzania. More than that, it illustrates a major challenge facing most of mankind. More than two-thirds of the world's population—in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—live in developing countries, which are now struggling to transform their traditional ways of life in order to benefit from the

material rewards of science and technology. In some cases, this is a struggle between life and death; in all cases, it is a struggle between dignity and deprivation. When the majority of mankind faces a challenge, it is no longer "their" problem but "ours," for the survival of the species may be at stake.

In some ways, Africa may seem different from the West, and indeed it is. But in many more ways, Africans as people are similar to people anywhere in the world. Human beings, after all, no matter where they live, face the same basic needs: to eat, to work, to love, to play, and to get along with their fellow men. Learning how Africans manage their lives —sharing in their thoughts and theories, their emotions and dreams—should do more than provide insights into another continent or another culture. It should also help to lay bare the nature of the human condition. Perhaps the greatest justification for studying about other people is to learn more about ourselves. If *Through African Eyes* helps to further this goal of self-knowledge and in the process reveals some of the uniqueness and universality of African life, then it will have served its purpose.

* * *

Through African Eyes is the result of three years' work. It represents the first major product of the Educational Materials Project (EMPathy), a nonprofit educational organization located in New York City and founded in June, 1967, for the express purpose of developing curriculum materials for the study of other cultures in American schools and colleges. The one man most responsible for the existence of EMPathy and hence for the development of the material represented by this book is Mr. Ward Morehouse, Director of the Center for International Programs and Comparative

studies, New York State Education Department. His unwavering support of the project has been a constant source of both personal and professional inspiration. His colleagues Dr. Arthur Osteen and Mr. Norman Abramowitz have been equally helpful in keeping EMPathy alive.

Special thanks should go to Susanne Bruce for suggesting the inclusion of "Building on *Ujamaa*," "Message to All Students," "Cleaning the Classroom," and "The *Gombe Sugu*"; to Janet Zobel for helping to track down statistics and photographs; to Soter Mulokozi, Press Attaché of the Tanzanian Mission to the United Nations, for several hours of helpful conversation as well as concrete assistance with maps and photographs; and, finally, to Mrs. Gladys Topkis, of Praeger Publishers, Inc., for her sufferance.

The editor, of course, bears the ultimate responsibility for the selection and editing of material, the adaptation of certain selections, the over-all conception of the unit, and the connective writing in the text.

LEON E. CLARK

Introduction

Most African nations have won their struggle for independence, but the real battle has just begun. The task now is to rebuild these nations, to create economies that will add substance to the slogans of "Freedom Now" and "Africa for the Africans." True independence, after all, is more than freedom from foreign control; it is also freedom to have enough to eat, to go to school, to buy a bicycle, to see a doctor.

In several ways, winning independence was easier than nation-building may prove to be. Independence was a popular cause, supported by virtually every citizen. All segments of society—rich and poor, scholars and illiterates, tribe and competing tribe—joined forces against a common enemy. Internal problems and differences were temporarily set aside. Moreover, the changes sought were more external than internal. As long as the Europeans relinquished control, the movement could be regarded as successful, even if nothing really changed within Africa itself.

Nation-building, on the other hand, tends to bring out the very differences and problems that were submerged during the fight for freedom. No government policy, no matter how popular, will ever have the universal support that inde-

Nation-building is the major task of more than two thirds of the world's population.

pendence had. In fact, many policies are bound to draw strong opposition, sufficient at times to topple governments. And, of course, the focus of nation-building is self-improvement, always more difficult than "improving" others. The goal of current African leaders, then, is to capture as much of the spirit of nationalism as possible and apply it to the task of improving the day-to-day lives of their people.

Most Africans inhabit a world of extreme poverty, by Western standards. It is a world in which 80 to 90 per cent of the people live in mud huts and till the soil with hoes,

just as their ancestors did centuries ago, barely able to grow enough food for their own consumption; a world where 80 per cent of the people are illiterate, only half of the children go to primary school, and less than 1 per cent go to college; a world with 20,000 people for every doctor, two infant deaths for every ten births, and a life expectancy of approximately forty years; in short, a world that has to change if independence is to mean anything.

But who will teach the farmers modern techniques of cultivation? Who will give them fertilizer (for they have no money to buy it)? How can the fertilizer be transported when there are only a few poor roads and no railroads into the rural areas? How can the fertilizer be manufactured when there is no cement or steel to build the factories, and no electricity to run the factories once they are built? Who will teach the adults to read so that they can learn modern ways? Who will teach in the high schools so that primary-school graduates will not have to drop out of school, as 75 per cent of them do now? Who is there to teach in the colleges—which produce high school teachers—when so few have gone to college? Where will more doctors come from when there are so few medical schools? Who will provide the money for roads, railroads, bridges, dams, power plants, schools, hospitals, and factories when most of the people are too poor to pay taxes?

These are just some of the questions that haunt the new leaders of Africa and, for that matter, the leaders of much of the world. Two thirds of the world's population live in the so-called underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In thirty years that figure will be closer to 80 per cent. The success or failure of nation-building, then, directly affects the overwhelming majority of mankind; in some cases

TANZANIA

it may mean the difference between life and death. And unless the wealthy 20 per cent of the world's people plan to live as prisoners of their own wealth, surrounded by a sea of poverty, it directly affects them, too.

WORLDS APART

Economically, the world is divided into two parts: rich and poor; the industrialized, mostly Western "have" nations, and the agricultural, mostly non-Western "have-not" nations. Another way of looking at this division is to think of the world as having two economic clubs, the $1,000 club and the $100 club. A few nations, mostly those inhabited by Europeans, belong to the $1,000 club because they have a per-capita (per person) income in four figures. But most nations belong to the $100 club. In other words, the "have" nations are at least ten times richer than the "have-not" nations. The United States, for example, has a per-capita income of about $3,420, while Tanzania has a per-capita income of less than $80, low even by African standards.

Many "have-not" nations are "wealthier" than Tanzania, but few, if any, have a chance of joining the $1,000 club in this century, not to mention catching up with the "have" nations. In fact, the trend is in the opposite direction: the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer, relative to each other. The gap is ever widening, despite energetic development efforts in the poor countries. Take, for example, the difference between the United States ($3,420) and Tanzania ($80). At present the gap is about $3,360. It is estimated that the United States will double its per-capita income by the year 2000, raising it to about $6,840. During that same period, Tanzania will probably grow at a faster rate than the United

States, multiplying its income about two and a half times. But even if Tanzanian tripled its per-capita income, to $240, the gap would be $6,600—twice as large as it is today.

There seems to be no way to reverse this trend so long as the rich nations refuse to share more of their wealth with the rest of the world. But it is important to remember that development goes on despite the widening gap. A poor nation does not necessarily compare itself to the rich nations, but rather to itself: so long as there is internal growth, there is progress. As Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, put it: "While other nations try to reach the moon, we are trying to reach the village." And, he might have added, reaching the village may be harder than reaching the moon but it is more important, for the village represents the home of most of the world's people (two billion now and three billion by the year 2000). It may turn out that the real heroes—the true adventurers—of the twentieth century are not the astronauts but the village workers. After all, the elimination of poverty and disease would truly be a "giant leap for mankind."

This unit deals with Tanzania's attempt to reach the village, and by so doing to build a nation. In many ways Tanzania is typical of "have-not" nations. It is poor, as we have seen; it is rural—95 per cent of its people live in the villages and work as farmers; it is short on schools—80 per cent of its people are illiterate; and it is newly independent—it won its freedom from England on December 9, 1961. Less than three years later, Tanganyika (as mainland Tanzania was then called) united with the island republic of Zanzibar and became the United Republic of Tanzania. Like so many "new" nations, Tanzania faces the dual challenge of political *and* economic development.

TANZANIA'S BACKGROUND

In some ways Tanzania is more fortunate than other developing nations. It does not, for example, have a population problem, as do many nations: its 13 million people live on 362,820 square miles of land, an area as large as Texas *plus* Florida and Louisiana, or larger than France, Italy, and Switzerland combined. It has a warm tropical climate favorable to agriculture; a variety of land forms and altitudes, allowing for different kinds of crops; and a fifty-mile coastline along the Indian Ocean. Such varied terrain brings the added bonus of scenic beauty (and tourists). Its huge wildlife preserves are also a major tourist attraction. Snow-capped Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest peak in Africa at 19,340 feet, stands in sharp contrast to the lush green highlands, which again differ from the flat coastal plains and white sandy beaches.

Unlike many African and Asian nations, Tanzania has a common language—Swahili—which is spoken by most of the people; thus it avoids the communication problem that hampers development in other countries. (Swahili and English are the official languages of the nation.) Likewise, Tanzania does not have to contend with tribalism, a force that has plagued several African states since independence. The country has a total of 124 small tribes, the largest (the Sukuma) making up only 10 per cent of the population. Without a dominant tribe or competing large tribes, Tanzania is able to maintain political stability and even unity.

Moreover, Tanzania has a homogeneous population. More than 99 per cent of mainland Tanzanians are African. The remainder include approximately 80,000 Asians (from In-

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dia), 25,000 Arabs, and 15,000 Europeans. The religious composition of the mainland is roughly 25 per cent Christian, 31 per cent Muslim, and 44 per cent traditional African religions.

In Zanzibar the population breaks down approximately as follows: 300,000 Africans, 50,000 Arabs, and 20,000 Asians. About 55 per cent live on Zanzibar and 45 per cent on the adjacent island of Pemba. The overwhelming majority of the people are Muslim.

The history of Tanganyika is as old as man himself. It was in Olduvai Gorge, in northern Tanganyika, near the town of Arusha, that Dr. Louis Leakey uncovered the skull of what may be earliest man, going back 1,750,000 years. The coast of Tanganyika has been known to the outside world for almost two thousand years, the interior for little more than a hundred. (See Unit III, "East African Glory, p. 62.) Sailors from Arabia, Persia, and India were the first outsiders to make contact with the East African coast. Trading villages sprung up, and by the eighth century Arabs moved south to settle in these villages, bringing their Muslim religion with them.

When Portuguese explorers rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the fifteenth century and sailed north, they found this Arab-African civilization. To secure trading ports for their voyages to India, the Portuguese took control of the coast and kept it for two hundred years. During this period they made no attempt to explore or colonize the interior. That did not take place until 1857, when Sir Richard Burton and John Speke trekked inland in search of the source of the Nile.

The first European power to colonize Tanganyika was Germany. In 1884, a German society for colonization signed treaties with six African chiefs, and by 1890 the German East Africa Company had control of what is now Tanganyika,

Burundi, and Rwanda. After World War I, England took over most of this territory under a mandate from the League of Nations and later, in 1946, as a trust territory of the United Nations.

Since that time, the history of Tanganyika is one of gradual movement toward independence. In 1954, Julius Nyerere, a schoolteacher, organized a political party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). TANU candidates won elections in 1958 and again in 1959. When general elections were held in 1960, under British supervision but for the establishment of self-rule, TANU representatives won 70 out of 71 seats, and Nyerere became Chief Minister.

At independence, on December 9, 1961, Nyerere automatically became Prime Minister, but he resigned his post six weeks later to devote full time to party work. However, when Tanganyika became a Republic within the Commonwealth exactly one year later, Nyerere was elected President. He has held that position ever since.

The story of nation-building in Tanzania is really the story of Julius Nyerere and TANU, Nyerere the philosopher and architect, TANU the apparatus of construction. Before independence the popular cry was UHURU! (FREEDOM!) Now the theme is UHURU NA KAZI (FREEDOM AND WORK). This unit attempts to convey some of the spirit of that work.

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*Tanzania's Resources**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Like all developing nations, and indeed like all nations of the world before the Industrial Revolution, Tanzania relies primarily on agriculture to produce its wealth. Hence the greatest resource of the country is land.

The following selection describes the land resources of Tanzania and how they are being used. It also suggests ways in which the land could be used more efficiently, thereby improving the living standards of the people. The improvement of agriculture, in fact, is the first goal of most "have-not" nations, and certainly of Tanzania.

This does not mean that other efforts are not being made. Where possible, minerals and other resources such as forests and fisheries are tapped, but Tanzania is unfortunately not rich in these resources. It does have some gold and diamonds, but they account for only 3 or 4 per cent of the national product.

The development of industry is another means of increasing national wealth, but this takes time and money. At the moment over 90 per cent of the Tanzanian population is engaged in agriculture. If the quality of life is to be improved for most people, it must be improved first on the land.

* Griffiths Cunningham, "Resources for Development," *Mbioni*, Dar es Salaam, Vol. II, Nos. 4 (1965) and 9 (1966).

The author of this selection is the former principal of Kivukoni College, a training institute for development workers located in Tanzania's capital city, Dar es Salaam.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

How are Tanzania's land resources being wasted?

How can they be saved?]

First of all it is important to remember that Tanzania is a tropical country. This brings with it certain advantages and certain disadvantages, but throughout this discussion we will look on the pleasant side of things first—believing, as we do, in men's ultimate ability to surmount many of the problems posed by nature.

The extent to which this is possible is graphically illustrated by the phenomenal agricultural productivity of the farmers of the U.S.A. The U.S.A. has from 1 to 2 per cent of *all the farm families* in the world. This handful of individuals is now capable of feeding and clothing about 50 per cent of *the whole world's population.*

This is the reason for our optimism. It seems likely that, with a relatively small increase in the level of skill of the typical Tanzanian peasant farmer, we can expect significant increases in productivity. We should not expect to achieve the productivity of the farmers of America overnight, but we can make sizable steps in that direction right now.

Advantages of a tropical climate:

(1) Year-round growth is possible in some circumstances;

(2) Rapid growth in favorable circumstances is usual; and

(3) A great variety of crops can be grown.

Disadvantages of a tropical climate:

(1) Year-round growth applies to useless bushlands and destructive insects as well as to crops, and

(2) The bright sun, which stimulates growth, also evaporates scarce water.

So there are pluses and minuses in this tropical environment. The minuses, however, can be overcome with science and technology.

Another plus-minus factor in Tanzania's resources is size. Tanzania is a very large country by any standards. This means it has lots of empty land to move into as the population grows and as the urge to cultivate larger *shambas* [farms] becomes more widespread. This is a very important advantage, shared by very few countries in the world.

But too much space is also a disadvantage. The farmers in remote areas, for example, have to choose their crops carefully. Because they are far from the sea, they cannot afford to transport their crops to a port for export overseas. Equally, transportation of these crops to towns and cities within Tanzania can be expensive and even impossible if the crops are perishable.

It is not economical, for instance, to encourage remote farmers to grow citrus fruits for fresh fruit sale. By the time the oranges or limes have been delivered to the consumer they will be much more expensive than the citrus fruit grown around the major consuming centers of Dar es Salaam, Tanga, or Moshi. Thus the long distances that agricultural produce must travel in this country before it is marketed are a serious

handicap and severely restrict the variety of crops that can be grown in the remoter parts of Tanzania.

The normal way in Tanzania for overcoming this disadvantage is to grow luxury crops like coffee, tea, or tobacco which have a high price on the world market.

Another way, of course, is to build an efficient and cheap transport system of railways or roads, but this is very expensive.

And the last way is to take the products of the *shamba*—let us say oranges again—and transform them into a higher-quality product. In the case of oranges we might economically grow oranges in Mpanda and sell them as orange juice or simply canned oranges. In this case we have added the value

Clearing unused land is part of Tanzania's rural development program. President Nyerere is standing at the far right in the picture.

of our labor to the value of our oranges. We have created a product of higher quality; a product which can be sold at a higher price and therefore can absorb the cost of transport from Mpanda. Certainly if the consumers of Dar es Salaam can afford to purchase canned fruit from Australia and Europe they could afford to purchase the canned products of the remoter agricultural regions of Tanzania.

This business of making possible the sale of canned or processed agricultural products is based on the "value added" principle. The labor of the factory worker, the farmer, the men who made the bottles or cans in which the fruit is put, all of these add value to the original low-cost produce.

The "value added" principle is a very important one for the planners of the remote regions of Tanzania to consider, for it shortens distances, you might say—it brings the people of Songea, of Ngara, of Kasulu, etc., closer to the main centers of export such as Dar es Salaam and Tanga, as well as bringing them closer to the main centers of consumption—again Dar es Salaam and Tanga. . . .

MAKING GOOD SOILS BAD

The experience of this country unfortunately seems to come under this heading. Soil is a resource which can easily be changed by man and animals. You might say it is a delicate resource and needs very careful treatment. In Tanzania peasant agriculturalists very often are guilty of misusing their soils. It works this way.

Most peasants practice shifting cultivation. This means that they rotate the land they use. The cycle of land use follows this generalized pattern:

Year One

(1) Burn the weeds, grass, brush, and small trees. Kill large trees by ringing the bark of the tree.
(2) Cultivate the land with hand hoe.
(3) Build temporary dwellings and outbuildings.
(4) Plant crops such as millet, maize, beans, potatoes, cassava, etc.

This takes place in the first year.

The crops generally produce good yields in the first year. The soils have not been used for many years. Ashes from the burned vegetation contribute to soil fertility. The soil contains some natural fertility in the form of minerals. Most important—the crops grown do not demand highly fertile soils.

Year Two

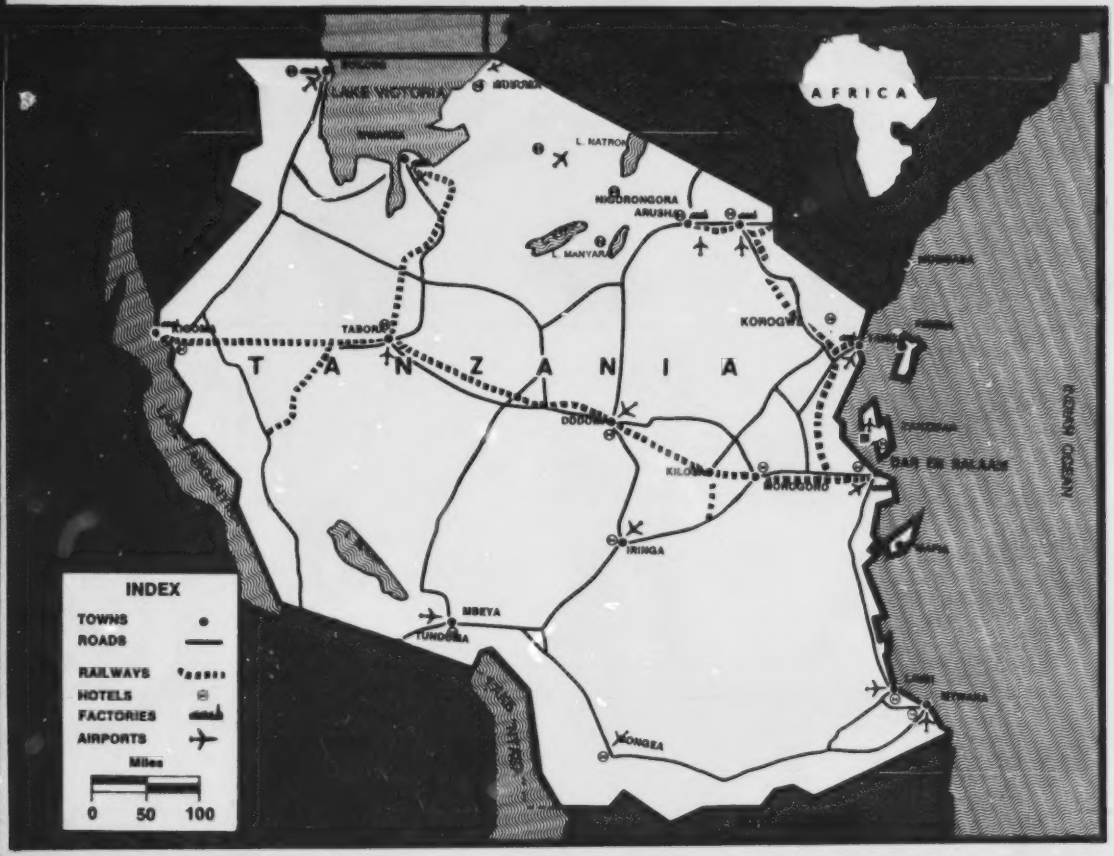
(1) Cultivate by hoe when the rains begin.
(2) Plant crops which complete their growth in one year.
(3) Harvest.

Yields will still be reasonable as the soils can still support the crops grown.

But yields of crops such as maize will probably be less than in the first year since maize feeds on the soil and removes much fertility.

As a consequence of this system of cultivation, the soil will be less fertile in the second year.

The farmer in this system will be "mining the soil." Like Williamson's Diamond Mine at Mwadui, which is mining diamonds out of the rock of Tanzania and putting no diamonds back in, our farmers are taking fertility out of the soil and putting no new fertility back in.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TOBACCO
DIAMONDS
CLOVE
GOLD
COTTON

Year Three

(1) Cultivate and plant as before.
(2) Houses made of mud and wattle begin to deteriorate; rains wash away walls and grass roof rots.
(3) Yields are lower than ever, people eat less.
(4) Soils are now "mined out"; little natural fertility is left.
(5) Erosion of soil may begin.
(6) Peasant will move to new plot.
(7) The cycle will start again on a new *shamba.*

This represents a generalized view of the system of shifting cultivation. In some areas natural soil fertility is greater and the "mining" process takes longer to destroy the fertility of the soil.

The soil will take, in some cases, fifteen years or so to recover its natural fertility. This will depend on a number of factors, like the supply of rainfall and the type of natural vegetation which will invade the abandoned *shamba.*

This is the rather unhappy condition of most of the soils of Tanzania.

What can be done about it?

SOLUTIONS

Development of agriculture in Tanzania in the past fifty years has produced a significant minority of farmers who no longer practice shifting cultivation. Why?

(1) They grow permanent crops like sisal, tea, coffee, citrus, kapok, etc. Therefore they cannot practice shifting cultivation as they cannot carry their fixed crops with them.

(2) They use fertilizers and manure and therefore maintain a steady level of soil fertility.

(3) They use fertilizers and manure and may consequently increase year by year the fertility of their soil; as a consequence their land actually increases in value as it produces a steadily rising income.

(4) They improve their houses and outbuildings, investing in metal roofs, etc., and are therefore unwilling to move about.

(5) The general level of prosperity increases in their village; services are provided such as roads, schools, clean water supply, dispensaries, etc., from the increased taxes that the more prosperous peasants can pay. Therefore farmers are less willing to shift from place to place.

(6) In areas of relatively high prosperity there is usually little or no land left idle so that shifting cultivation is difficult if not impossible.

(7) Another solution, but a long-term one, would be to enclose the plots of the peasants and give them some legal document which establishes a right of occupancy on the land. In easier terms this means that the government will gradually change the system of land holding in this country. Farmers will be given a legal document which supports their claim to the land they hold. Land will cease to be a resource controlled by tribal authority and its occupation will be fully controlled by the central government.

Enclosure means also consolidation—that is, the bringing together of the scattered strips or plots of land that peasants own in some parts of Tanzania. Enclosure would give each

peasant a single block of land and make the exploitation of that land much easier; shifting cultivation would be eliminated because the peasant's land is well marked out by government surveyors.

What is needed in Tanzania is that the peasant agriculturalist should value the land and the soil he occupies. The ability to shift from place to place will rapidly decrease with the steady increase in population, and if the land of this country is to support more and more people peasants will have to be taught better methods of crop husbandry to ensure that the fertility of the soil does not decrease but does in fact increase from year to year.

*Visiting a Village**

PART I

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: One way to help peasant farmers take a special interest in the land is to place the ownership of the land in their hands. In Tanzania the government is trying to do this by setting up what it calls *ujamaa* villages. (*Ujamaa* means "familyhood" in Swahili.) Members of such villages form a socialist community in which the land—the profits it yields and the work of cultivation—is shared equally by all.

In the following selection, a group of students from Kivukoni College travels to an ujamaa village to experience first-hand the problems of rural development. Educated and urbanized Africans are sometimes as unfamiliar with day-to-day peasant life as Westerners are. In fact, Kivukoni College was established to help bridge this gap between the elite and the masses. The college accepts local leaders for one-year courses, exposes them to national problems, shows them how their jobs relate to the over-all national effort, and then sends them back to their former jobs. By its very design, Kivukoni is a nation-building college.

* K. Kabigi *et al.*, "Report on Mbambara Ujamaa Village," *Mbioni*, Vol. V, No. 7 (1969), pp. 10–27.

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In the village discussed here, sisal is the major agricultural product; it is also the major product of Tanzania, followed closely by cotton and coffee. Sisal is a hemp plant whose leaves are used to make rope and the bristly sort of twine that is used in the United States to tie up newspapers. Tanzania is the world's largest producer of sisal.

As you read Part I of "Visiting a Village," think of these questions:

What are some of the problems in the village?

How do the students try to help the villagers?]

For the first time in its history, the college launched a program by which students are sent out to live and work in ujamaa villages. The intention is to give them first-hand experience of the problems encountered by peasants in our rural areas. . . .

What did we worry about before we left for Mbambara? Surprisingly enough, we were haunted with fears of working too hard and eating too little. We admit that our attitudes were unsocialistic in a country where all good life in towns originates in the sweat of our peasants—the same people who, despite paying their taxes regularly, enjoy little in the way of social services. Our intention was to impress the few educated people to cultivate the spirit of assisting the many illiterate public so that education becomes beneficial to the country as a whole. Also we wanted to show the rural population the importance of their role in the development of the country.

THE JOURNEY

We arrived at Mbambara at 3 P.M. on the 12th August, 1968. A warm welcome was accorded to us at a public meeting at which we were introduced to the members of the village. Each of us was attached to a different family so that we could identify ourselves as much as possible with our hosts.

It was pleasant news for them to learn that we were there to participate fully in their day-to-day activities. We proved this the following morning when we all together went out to work. Let it be emphasized that we were there to learn from them and at the same time to teach them as much as we knew. We also were there to show that it is through co-operation that prosperity comes.

THE VILLAGE

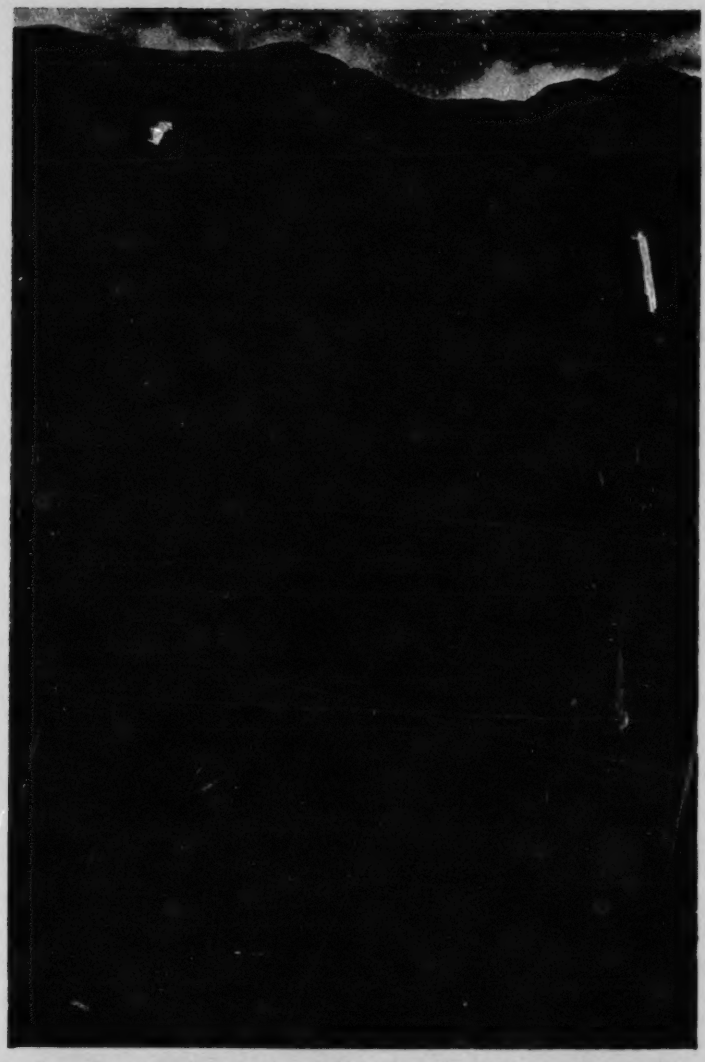
Mbambara is situated thirty-nine miles south of Tanga, seventeen miles east of Muheza, and nineteen miles from the main Tanga-Korogwe Road. The village is adjacent to a capitalist farm called Kwafungo Sisal Estate. It is hemmed in by ranges of high hills on all sides and is watered by a permanent river. This river is also a source of fish to the village. In the future it could as well be a source of electric power. The climate is warm and rainy, permitting the growing of maize three times a year.

The village has 104 adult members and a few others still under probation.* Their objective is to raise their living standards through cooperative effort as enunciated by TANU

* Ujamaa villages, like all organizations, have the right to accept or reject applicants. There is a period of probation before the final decision is made.

Tanzania is the world's largest producer of sisal. In the picture above, Tanzanian leaders inspect young sisal plants on a shamba *run cooperatively by twenty-five local farmers. The picture opposite shows mature sisal almost ready for harvest.*

and the government. To implement this they intend to open 4,000 acres of land under cultivation. At present 400 acres are in sisal and 200 acres in maize. Also they have a two-acre



farm for experimentation with groundnut (peanut) growing. Cash crops in this part of the country are sisal, maize, and groundnuts; maize, rice, beans, bananas, and sugar cane are

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the food crops. We have advised them to grow fruits like oranges, pineapples, and jack-fruit [something like pumpkin], for we are convinced that the soil and climate in general are suitable.

PROCESSING THE SISAL

We have already stated that 400 acres are planted with sisal. This is now mature, being about three years old. One disheartening thing is that most of it is not harvested yet. This is not due to the villagers' laziness but to lack of a vehicle to transport the sisal leaves to the decorticating factory at Kwafungo. The only way out has been to hire the Cooperative Society's lorry [truck] at Tanga, which is available for a very limited time. For example, during our stay there the lorry was available for only two weeks, a period which is insufficient to cope with the 400 acres.

At the factory, the leaves are decorticated and sold. Part of the proceeds are used to pay for the decortication, and the rest, after duly being announced to the members, are deposited in the bank.

Our experience showed that the peasant has to incur a lot of expenses before his efforts can be realized. If the work is to be more profitable, it is advisable for them to own a tractor which would serve for both cultivation and transportation.

DAILY ROUTINE

The village evinces a high degree of discipline. At 6 A.M. an elected sergeant sounds the whistle for reveille and they all assemble at the village office. Here the day's work is distributed and any sick persons receive their official exemption

from duty. The main jobs during our stay there were of two kinds: cultivating and sisal harvesting.

Farm Work. The farm manager is in charge of the daily division of work. He directs which plot is to be dealt with on a given day. The amount of work per person per day is fixed; 140 yards x 40 yards. This enables eighteen people to work four acres in a day. During this period, preparation for planting maize is going on [to be] ready for the short rainy season.

Sisal Harvesting. For this kind of job a group of experienced men has been selected (women have been unable to do the job). The standard measure of work is 50 bunches of 30 leaves each per day.

One job done by the women consisted of beating the maize grains from the cobs. For this the individual was expected to fill three *debes* [four-gallon tins] in a day.

Assisting the manager's supervisory duties are overseers chosen on a daily basis.

Certain jobs, especially sisal harvesting, exact much more work than that agreed upon if the truck is to be used economically. In these cases extra work is rewarded with the payment of 3.5 shillings per person.

OUR CONTRIBUTION

What was our contribution to the cause of helping [the] peasant raise his income?

Agriculture. We discovered after a short stay that it was the practice to collect all the weeds, to throw them in the bush and burn them. Since we were aware that by modern agricultural techniques this was wrong, we discussed the matter at an evening meeting, where it was resolved to allocate an acre of land to us for demonstration. Ten members were attached

Sisal leaves are stripped and hung up to dry before they are made into twine. Tractors are used on large estates but are a rarity for most of Tanzania's farmers.

to the project with the idea "let them learn from us and later teach the rest." We hoped that the success of the experiment would convince them of the importance of green manure. It is notable that although many of them knew the method, they did not apply it because, they said, it made work too difficult. We answered that quality of work was important. Indeed, no sooner did some of them learn this technique than they went to apply it to their private plots.

Adult Education. One of our activities at Mbambara was fighting against IGNORANCE. Most of our effort was concentrated on the few who could neither read nor write. We had equipped ourselves with materials even before we went there.

We also gave lessons in hygiene, especially to mothers, who, we know, have a vital role to play in the well-being of their families. These lessons were conducted by Miss Mary Kabigi, one of our colleagues. Classes began at two in the afternoon and ended at six. We were impressed with the villagers' enthusiasm to learn. We also trained some of their enlightened comrades in the art of adult teaching.

Lower Primary School—Mbambara. The people of Mbambara have a lower primary school which they built through a self-help project. Forty children are admitted but under government regulation only 23 have reached school age. There is a female teacher who runs it but, being one of the village members, she is not entitled to any extra payment. She is not a qualified teacher, a fact which prompted us to appoint Mr. I. Binamu to coach her for a two-week refresher course.

The major problem here is the lack of equipment and materials: books, desks, etc. During the meetings we continually emphasized the importance of children's education, so much so that we persuaded them to use their funds to furnish the school properly. Despite its shortcomings, the school shows a fair amount of progress.

All the village children gather at the school during working hours under the care of a woman appointed weekly for the job. At midday she provides them with bulgur wheat cooked with milk—the children's favorite dish.

The mode of upbringing is highly commendable: the children are from the very beginning oriented for the service of the nation. Some of them have "Green Guard" uniforms and march in the manner of the "Young Pioneers."

Political Education. Our recognition of the need for political education in this country prompted us to hold political

meetings every evening between 8 P.M. and 11 P.M. The general theme was cooperative work in ujamaa villages. We also discussed topics of agricultural economics. Our findings were that these people have much political awareness, which spirit, if it prevailed throughout the country, would considerably change its face socially, economically, and politically in, say, ten years' time. Our job, therefore, was to thrash out certain misconceptions by inviting them to ask questions. This is the method commonly used in all meetings in Mbambara—a true symbol of the existence of democracy. Discussion goes on unhampered by fear regardless of who or what is talked about.

Committee Men. Authority lies in committees, of which there are two: The General Committee and the Cooperative Shop Committee. We decided to help the committee men of the latter by teaching them simple arithmetic. The importance of the ability to do simple calculations cannot be overemphasized. Ignorance of it has led to the collapse of many cooperative ventures. For example, during the early beginning of Mbambara, it was reported to us, leaders stole about 45,000 shillings ($6,300). If the members of the village could make simple calculations, such a severe loss could not possibly have happened.

The Cooperative Shop Committee's duties include making orders of goods and auditing accounts.

Visiting a Village

PART II

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Most agriculture in Tanzania is subsistence farming. That is, the farmers simply grow enough food for their own needs; they never sell their goods and therefore never have money to buy other things. One of the major goals of development is to bring these farmers into the exchange economy, and the best way to do this is to encourage them to grow cash crops.

However, as we have seen in the two earlier readings, the farmers must be taught new methods of cultivation; lorries must be provided to carry the goods; and plants must be built to process these goods when they arrive at their destinations. Who will provide all this training and equipment?

Private capital—money in the hands of individuals—is scarce in Tanzania, and throughout the developing world. Hence the people must look to the government for their needs. The almost inevitable result is socialism. But the government is also short of capital. How can it tax the people when 90 per cent of them are subsistence farmers? Besides, the government must invest heavily in the *infrastructure* of the economy—in roads, railroads, dams, and power plants—without which nothing else can be done.

Very often the substantial progress made in "have-not"

nations does not become visible right away—does not appear as increased per-capita income—because the progress is in the infrastructure of the economy. Once this base is set, however, the economy can pick up enough speed to reach the "take-off stage" where a sharp rise in living standards can be expected.

But in the meantime the people must live—and attempt to make progress. How can they do it without capital investment? The answer in Tanzania is self-reliance. The government is trying to help the people pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. It is encouraging peasants to create their own capital by stressing money-making projects. The ujamaa village is designed for precisely this purpose.

As you read Part II of "Visiting a Village," try to answer these questions:

How are the people making money on their own?

How much is the government helping them?]

THE NEED FOR EXPERT PERSONNEL

We have already mentioned that many jobs are held by virtue of the individual's personality and inclination without regard to know-how. This is because of the acute shortage of trained personnel. To counter this the following persons have been sent out of the village for courses:

(1) A youth to learn driving and lorry and tractor machines. We were told that he had completed his studies and would soon rejoin the village.

(2) Another youth on training in agriculture and animal husbandry. In the future it is planned to keep a few oxen for plough cultivation, which is incorporated into his studies.

(3) Soon one woman will be sent for a nursing and midwifery course for a period of two years. With this in view a dispensary and clinic is to be built to alleviate the present problems of distance involved.

Each trainee is supplied with a daily ration of food and 30 shillings' monthly allowance. Despite the modest care rendered to them, no sense of dissatisfaction has been envinced by the trainees, although they live with much better-off course-mates.

It is the general opinion in the village that having their own trained members will help to perpetuate know-how in the community easily.

PROBLEMS

Transportation. The progress of the village is seriously affected by the lack of a lorry to transport the sisal. It would be advisable if a loan from the Regions Development Fund would be made for the purchase of a truck. The present system of having the cooperative lorry from Tanga does not meet the heavy requirements of harvesting 400 acres of sisal.

The truck would also serve for the transportation of bananas for sale in town. This is a serious problem because the members have not up to now enjoyed the fruits of their efforts. Further, it acts as a brake for any expansion. The truck would also help to alleviate the difficulties involved in the movement of the sick to Muheza Hospital, 26 miles away. Communication is indeed a national problem which arises from the fact that homesteads are scattered. Government cannot possibly provide roads and hospitals under the present situation.

Leaders. The villagers complained of the indifference

These women, learning to write, are part of an adult literacy class. The fact that more than 80 per cent of all Africans are illiterate poses a difficult problem in communication, so important for development.

shown by both the government and party leaders to their settlement. Visits are not made to encourage them in their efforts or to listen to their problems. It was surprising to receive us sympathizers from Dar es Salaam but none from their own region. It was claimed that officials were seen only when they accompanied the president, Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere.

These are a few of our observations with regard to social control. What struck us most is that the leaders (in the village itself) understand that their status is merely a trust and that they are the servants rather than the masters of the peo-

ple. This is the best example for all those who carry the burden of leadership to follow. Only when they realize that they are the servants of the people and get rid of all the existing attitudes will our country succeed.

OTHER ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN AT MBAMBARA

The Fish Pond. A pond has been constructed in which *penge* fish are kept. Soon the fish will provide them with a nutritive item of diet. The construction of this pond was done under the direction of an American volunteer who lived there for about a year.

The Shop. The village owns a cooperative shop in which sugar, tea leaves, kitchen salt, kerosene, maize flour, beans, and many other items are sold. The shop makes a daily turnover of 40 shillings.

The Farms. Every member owns a small plot apart from the communal farm. Crops like maize, millet, potatoes, groundnuts, paddy [rice], and bananas are planted so that, as far as food is concerned, everyone is self-reliant. Compared to neighboring villages, they are much better fed.

The Flour Mill. A flour mill machine has been brought at the cost of 4,000 shillings. This has considerably eased the problem of milling maize.

OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

Work. The villagers put forth enough effort but often with the spirit of wage-earners who simply want to finish the job with little regard to quality. They must learn that their work is for the benefit of the whole community. The socialist spirit therefore must be inculcated.

It is also thought beneficial to provide instruction in modern agricultural techniques. We hope this will be done with the return of the young trainee.

Experts. It is to be noted that there are very few primary-school–educated members in the settlement. As a result, many responsibilities have been given to people who have no knowledge of the jobs whatever. Needed are: (1) a primary school teacher, (2) an agricultural extension officer, (3) a rural medical aid. Such experts ought to be members of the village who truly accept socialist principles. If they are outsiders, they still must be ready to become full members. If these are available, economic and political education would quickly be provided to the village—a thing they badly need.

Leaders. We should like to remind the leaders of their responsibility to act as vanguard to the nation's progress. They should as often as possible make visits and should participate in the various activities going on in the village.

Our people can only progress through cooperation. Thus it is the leaders' duty to explain and demonstrate this. How can one seated in his office plant this spirit of cooperation in the peasants? How can they testify to the effectiveness of the principle of cooperation?

We urge our leaders to follow the excellent example shown by our president, Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere. He is ever on the move throughout the length and breadth of the country, encouraging the people, spending little time here in Dar es Salaam. Why can't each leader tour his region and share in the people's endeavors to raise their standards of living? It is a shame for a leader to be ignorant of what goes on in his region or district.

TANU has resolved to build socialism in this country. Indeed, it is the leaders themselves who have made the decision.

Thus, if the policy is to succeed, it is important that the effort to realize it must be jointly done by the leaders and the people.

Economy. The low economic level in the village is attributable to the fact that only one cash crop—sisal—is grown. We have therefore suggested that the following crops be grown: pineapples, oranges, coconuts (the latter have already been planted with the help of the Ministry of Agriculture). We also suggested poultry keeping, which would not only add cash but would supplement the diet.

General Observations. Although we stayed for two weeks only, we were able to learn a lot from these peasants, and they in their turn learned something from us, we hope.

What gave them hope is the government's recognition of their venture and hence our presence in the village to share their experiences. We think, therefore, that the government should launch similar programs so that fears and doubts associated with ujamaa villages may be removed.

Kivukoni College should incorporate the program along with its normal teaching. Theoretical knowledge should be reinforced with actual village activities. The college should undertake the training of party cadres who would be involved with implementation of *ujamaa* from the village level.

Building on Ujamaa*

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: The man behind Tanzania's approach to rural socialism—the philosopher, designer, and main spokesman—is the President himself, Julius K. Nyerere. The President prefers the title "Mwalimu," which means "teacher" in Swahili; he wants to remind the people of his former occupation and at the same time emphasize the relationship he would like to maintain with the entire nation.

Nyerere was born in 1922, the son of a chief. After attending Catholic missionary schools at home, near the shore of Lake Victoria, and at Tabora, he entered Makerere College in Uganda, graduating two years later with a degree in education. He returned to Tabora, taught school for a while, and in 1949 entered Edinburgh University in Scotland. When he returned to Tanzania three years later with a Master of Arts Degree, he was one of only two Tanzanian students holding degrees from foreign universities.

Nyerere went back to teaching, but two years later, in 1954, he turned his attention to politics. He helped form TANU, became its first president (an office he still holds), was elected chief minister under the British, led his country

* President Julius K. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development," speech given in September, 1967, and published by the Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

President Nyerere learns to make bricks and at the same time demonstrates to his people the need for hard work in building the nation.

to independence, and became the first and only president Tanzania has ever had.

Commenting on Nyerere's philosophy, one writer has said:

> Nyerere is a Christian brought up in the Western democratic tradition. . . . His social and economic revolution in Tanzania has been brought about from above, with Nyerere as the living model. What is even more

important but often overlooked is that the Tanzanian revolution is carried out in the Christian and Islamic tradition rather than in the name of Marx, Lenin, or Mao. There is no evidence that Nyerere has been willing to reject completely his Christian and Western democratic heritage.

The leader of the revolution in Tanzania is the humble teacher who is teaching his pupils—the Tanzanian people—not for the sake of teaching, but for the sake of making their education relevant to their life. Nyerere's personal dilemma has always been how to serve his country without becoming egotistically prominent.

The President solves this problem by living a simple life. Instead of occupying the ornate State House in Dar es Salaam, he lives in a modest beach house four miles away. His wife, Maria Gabriel, insists on keeping their eight children out of the public spotlight. He spends one week every month visiting the "bush," avoiding official receptions so that he can talk face-to-face with the villagers. In 1966 he reduced his own salary by 20 per cent as an example of democratic socialism; other government officials followed suit.

For entertainment Nyerere translates Shakespeare into Swahili. He has already completed *The Merchant of Venice* and *Julius Caesar*. When asked why he does so, he said: "It is fun, and since it is fun, Shakespeare is as good as anyone else." Then he added: "I picked the easier ones." The President is a modest drinker, taking an occasional beer or a glass of wine. He gave up smoking five years ago after smoking four packs a day.

In the following selection, President Nyerere, in his role as "Mwalimu," explains the theory behind ujamaa villages, showing in particular the traditional basis for Tanzanian socialism.

As you read his speech, think of these questions:

What are the principles of traditional *ujamaa?*

How does Nyerere hope to improve on the traditional system?]

The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of *ujamaa*. Its members did this unconsciously, and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms. They lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with—the uncertainties of weather and sickness, the depredations of wild animals (and sometimes human enemies), and the cycle of life and death. The results of their joint effort were divided unequally among them, but according to well-understood customs. And the division was always on the basis of the fact that every member of the family had to have enough to eat, some simple covering, and a place to sleep, before any of them (even the head of the family) had anything extra.

The family members thought of themselves as one, and all their language and behavior emphasized their unity. The basic goods of life were "our food," "our land," "our cattle." And identity was established in terms of relationships; mother and father of so-and-so; daughter of so-and-so; wife of such-and-such a person. They lived together and they worked together; the result of their joint labor was the property of the family as a whole.

ASSUMPTIONS OF *UJAMAA*

This pattern of living was made possible because of three basic assumptions of traditional life. These assumptions were

A government work project (and rally) demonstrates the need to "hoe together" to develop the land. Hard work and cooperation are two of the basic principles of ujamaa.

not questioned, or even thought about; but the whole society was both based upon them and designed to uphold them. They permeated the customs, manners, and education of the people. And although they were not always honored by every individual, they were not challenged; rather, the individual continued to be judged by them.

The first of these basic assumptions, or principles of life, I have sometimes described as "love," but that word is so often used to imply a deep personal affection that it can give a false impression. A better word is perhaps "respect," for it

was—and is—really a recognition of mutual involvement in one another. . . . Each member of the family recognized the place and the rights of the other members, and although the rights varied according to sex, age, and even ability and character, there was a minimum below which no one could exist without disgrace to the whole family. . . .

While the first principle of the ujamaa unit related to persons, the second related to property. It was that all the basic goods were held in common and shared among all members of the unit. There was an acceptance that whatever one person had in the way of basic necessities, they all had; no one could go hungry while others hoarded food, and no one could be denied shelter if others had space to spare. Within the extended family, and even within the tribe, the economic level of one person could never get too far out of proportion to the economic level of others.

There was not complete equality; some individuals within the family and some families within the clan or tribe could "own" more than others. But in general they acquired this through extra efforts of their own, and the social system was such that in time of need it was available to all. Further, the inheritance systems were such that in almost all places death led to the dispersal of, for example, a large herd of cattle, among a large number of people. . . .

Finally, and as a necessary third principle, . . . everyone had an obligation to work. The work done by different people was different, but no one was exempt. Every member of the family and every guest who shared in the right to eat and have shelter took it for granted that he had to join in whatever work had to be done. Only by the universal acceptance of this principle was the continuation of the other two made possible.

INADEQUACIES OF THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM

But although these three principles were at the base of the traditional practice of *ujamaa,* the result was not the kind of life we really wish to see existing throughout Tanzania. Quite apart from personal failures to live up to the ideals and principles of the social system (and traditional Africa was no more composed of unselfish and hardworking angels than any other part of the world), there were two basic factors which prevented traditional society from full flowering.

The first of these was that, although every individual was joined to his fellows by human respect, there was, in most parts of Tanzania, an acceptance of one human inequality. Although we try to hide the fact . . . it is true that the women in traditional society were regarded as having a place in the community that was not only different but was to some extent inferior. It is impossible to deny that the women did, and still do, more than their fair share of the work in the fields and in the homes. . . . This is certainly inconsistent with our socialist conception of the equality of all human beings and the right of all to live in such security and freedom as is consistent with equal security and freedom for all others. If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live in terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men.

The other aspect of traditional life which we have to break away from is poverty. Certainly there was an attractive degree of economic equality, but it was equality at a low level. The equality is good, but the level can be raised. For there was nothing inherent in the traditional system which caused this poverty; it was the result of two things only. The first was

ignorance, and the second was the scale of operations. Both of these can be corrected without affecting the validity and applicability of the three principles of mutual respect, sharing of joint production, and work by all.

These principles were, and are, the foundation of human security, of real practical human equality, and of peace among members of a society. They can also be a basis of economic development if modern knowledge and modern techniques of production are used.

THE OBJECTIVE

This is the objective of socialism in Tanzania. To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live at peace with their neighbors without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury.

To create this kind of nation we must build on the firm foundations of the three principles of the *ujamaa* family. But we must add to these principles the knowledge and the instruments necessary for defeat of the poverty which existed in traditional African society. In other words, we must add those elements which allow for increased output per worker, and which make a man's efforts yield more satisfactions to him. We must take our traditional system, correct its shortcomings, and adapt to its service the things we can learn from the technologically developed societies of other continents.

*Proverbs**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Proverbs often give us an insight into the values of a society. How do you think the Swahili proverbs below reflect the values of traditional life in Tanzania? How do they relate to the concept of *ujamaa?*

Which ones are similar to proverbs in the Western tradition?

Which ones are different?]

Ability is wealth.
A person who dislikes company is a wizard.
He who does not listen to an elder's advice comes to grief.
Where there are old people, nothing goes wrong.
Where there are many, nothing goes wrong.
Where there are many people, there is God.
A sick person is cared for.
Blood is thicker than water.
One volunteer is better than ten pressed [forced] men.

* S. S. Farsi, *Swahili Sayings from Zanzibar,* Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1962.

Kindness does not go rotten.

Everyone should contribute when a collection is being made.

He who is expelled from his home has nowhere to go.

Let a guest come so that the host may benefit.

The good that befalls you is yours and your friends'; the evil that befalls you is just your own.

A bad brother is far better than no brother.

He that is carried on the back must cling on. [*i.e.*, if a person is assisted by another, he must also do what he can to help himself.]

To stumble is not to fall down but to go forward.

Do not forget what it is to be a sailor because you became a captain.

Where elephants fight, the reeds get hurt.

A brother is as useful as a cooking pot, and a neighbor is as useful as a cooking-pot lid.

The brotherhood of coconuts is a meeting in the cooking pot [said of people who don't cooperate until it's too late].

Civility costs nothing but is worth much.

Blessings are better than wealth.

The tongue harms more than the teeth.

Capitalism vs. *Socialism**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: President Nyerere argues that socialism is the natural economic system for Tanzania because it comes closest to the traditional life of the people. His goal is to take the three positive principles of *ujamaa*—mutual respect, sharing of joint production, and work by all—and add to them the knowledge and instruments needed to eliminate poverty. He believes that capitalism cannot accomplish this task, and he tells why in the following speech.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

How does Nyerere think capitalism has misused wealth?

What does he think the function of wealth is?]

What is wrong with capitalism? To my mind, capitalism went wrong when it divorced Wealth from its true purpose.

The true purpose of Wealth is to satisfy very simple needs: the need for food, the need for shelter, the need for education, and so on. In other words, the end of Wealth is the

* President Julius K. Nyerere, "The Second Scramble," speech delivered at the opening of a World Assembly of Youth, Dar es Salaam, 1961.

banishment of Poverty: and Wealth is to Poverty what Light is to Darkness.

There is enough Wealth in every state for every individual to satisfy these basic needs. But the moment individuals in any single state begin to use Wealth, not for the satisfaction of those needs, not for the abolition of poverty, but for the purpose of acquiring power and prestige, then there is no longer enough. Then Wealth tolerates Poverty; then Wealth is no longer to Poverty what Light is to Darkness.

There is not enough Wealth in any nation to satisfy the desire for power and prestige of every individual, so what happens? There is then ruthless competition between individuals—not to get Wealth to feed themselves, or to clothe themselves, or to house themselves—but to seize enough Wealth to give themselves more power, more prestige than their fellows. That is, Wealth which exceeds their real need and which will enable them to dominate other individuals. When that stage is reached, one millionaire is prepared to spend millions simply in order to destroy another millionaire.

I believe that the purpose of Socialism was to correct this sin of Capitalism and to return Wealth to its original use—the satisfaction of simple human needs. I think it would be hypocrisy on the part of the Capitalist countries (the so-called Western countries) not to recognize the fact that this is happening in the Socialist countries; that within those countries personal wealth is not a symbol of power or prestige, and Wealth is used to banish poverty.

But I believe that the Socialist countries themselves, considered as "individuals" in the larger society of nations, are now committing the same crime as was committed by the Capitalists before. I believe that, on the international level, they are now beginning to use Wealth for the purpose of

Cooperative societies, involved in a variety of businesses, share their profits with all their members. Prices are low, in keeping with the goals of Tanzanian socialism.

acquiring power and prestige! It would be equally hypocritical on the part of the Socialist countries to deny this. Internationally they are engaged in using Wealth in exactly the same way now as the Capitalist countries have always used it—for power and prestige. And Socialist countries, no less than Capitalist countries, are prepared to behave like the millionaire: to use millions to destroy another "millionaire"—and it need not necessarily be a Capitalist "millionaire," it is just as likely to be a Socialist "millionaire." In other words, Socialist Wealth now tolerates Poverty—which is an even more unforgivable crime.

I believe that no underdeveloped country can afford to be anything but "socialist." I believe, therefore, that we in

Africa are bound to organize ourselves on a socialist pattern. But let us at least provide another corrective to Socialism, and prevent the Wealth we are beginning to build in our own countries from being used for the purpose of acquiring national power or prestige. Let us make sure that it is used solely for raising the standards of our people. Let us not allow the Wealth that we are creating to live side by side with Poverty and tolerate that poverty.

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*Freedom and Development**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Economic development is the overriding challenge facing Tanzania. Without it, independence means nothing. And it's no secret that the obstacle to development is the low productivity of Tanzania's farmers. People work too hard to produce too little, or they do not work at all. The big question is how to change this situation.

From a Western point of view, the answer seems obvious: imitate the developed nations; use tractors and fertilizer; send experts into the villages to teach the farmers. But Tanzania tried that in some selected villages, and it didn't work. The government, to break the pattern of shifting cultivation and living in scattered villages, brought farmers together, taught them modern methods of cultivation, and gave them equipment. The hope was to create centers of social and commercial development. The result was that production stayed the same or worsened.

What went wrong? Tanzanian leaders now believe that one important ingredient was left out: the people. It is not possible, they have discovered, simply to tell peasants how to change their lives and expect them to do it, any more than teachers can expect students to study because they are told

* Speech by President Julius K. Nyerere, as it appeared in *Mbioni*, Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2 (1968).

to do so. People will do what interests them; they will change when they see some advantages in changing. But *they* must perceive the benefits themselves. The word of others is not enough.

As a result of these early experiences, Tanzanian leaders have turned their development approach upside down. Instead of beginning with modern theories and equipment, they are beginning with the people, trying to help them to help themselves. The cry now is "self-reliance," and the stage for this new independence movement is the ujamaa village.

In the following selection, President Nyerere explains the logic and psychology behind Tanzania's grass-roots approach. As you read it, think of these questions:

How is the Tanzanian government trying to correct past mistakes?

What is the role of the government in ujamaa villages?]

If we are to live our lives in peace and harmony, and if we are to achieve our ambitions of improving the conditions under which we live, we must have both freedom and discipline. For freedom without discipline is anarchy: discipline without freedom is tyranny.

It is particularly important that we should now understand the connection between freedom, development, and discipline, because our national policy of creating socialist villages throughout the rural areas depends upon it. For we have known for a very long time that development had to go on in the rural areas, and that this required cooperative activities by the people. Ever since 1959, therefore, TANU has encouraged people to go in groups to farm in the rural areas, and our TANU government has initiated settlement schemes

TANZANIA: TOTAL GOVERNMENT BUDGET
FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1970-1975

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: Shs. 3,055,000,000 ($427,700,000)

NATIONALIZED ORGANIZATIONS: Shs. 2,300,000,000 ($322,000,000)

These organizations, formerly privately owned, have been nationalized by the government. Hence they are part of the public sector of the economy, controlled by the government but not manned by government employees.

of many kinds. But we can now see that we have committed many mistakes, and it is important that we should learn the right lessons from them.

When we tried to promote rural development in the past, we sometimes spent huge sums of money on establishing a settlement and supplying it with modern equipment and social services, as well as often providing it with a management hierarchy. In other cases, we just encouraged young men to leave the towns for a particular rural area and then left them to their own devices.

What we were doing, in fact, was thinking of development in terms of things, and not of people. Further, we thought in terms of monetary investment in order to achieve the increases in output we were aiming at. In effect, we said that capital equipment, or other forms of investment, would lead to increased output, and this would lead to a transformation in the lives of the people involved. The people were secondary; the first priority was the output. As a result, there have been very many cases where heavy capital investment has resulted in no increase in output where the investment has been wasted.

UJAMAA VILLAGES

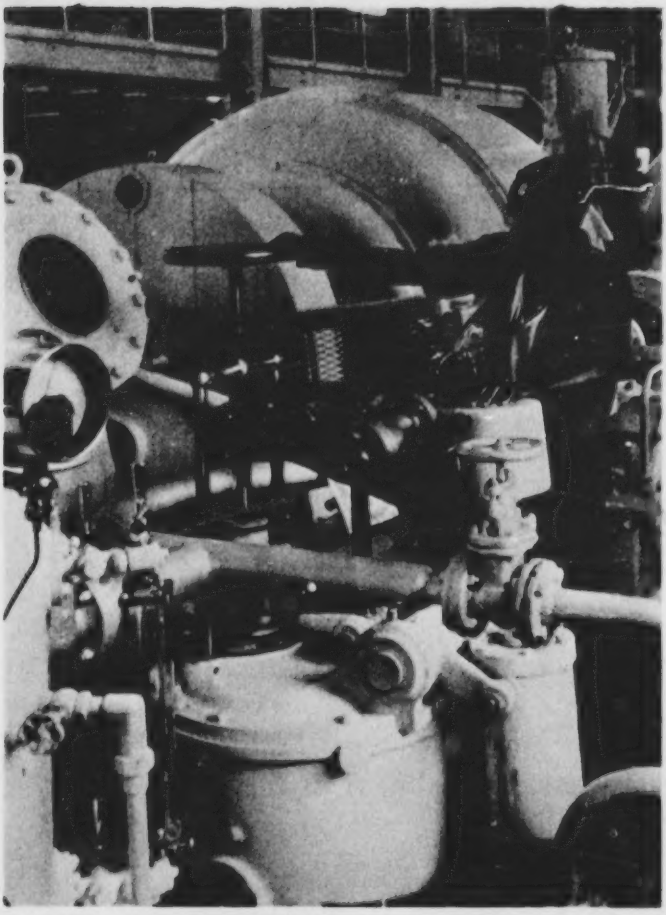
It is important, therefore, to realize that the policy of *Ujamaa Vijijini* (villages) is not intended to be merely a revival of the old settlement schemes under another name. The ujamaa village is a new conception, based on the understanding that what we need to develop is people, not things, and that people can only develop themselves. The policy is in fact, the result of learning from the failures which we have had, and from the successes of those small groups which began and grew on a different basis.

Ujamaa villages are intended to be socialist organizations created by the people, and governed by those who live and work in them. They cannot be created from outside or governed from outside. No one can be forced into an ujamaa village. No official of the government or party can go to an ujamaa village and tell the members what they must grow, what they should do together, and what they should continue to do as individual farmers. No non-member of the village can go and tell the members to use a tractor or not to use a tractor. . . . [The people] and no one else, will decide how much of their land they will cultivate together from the beginning and how much they will cultivate individually. They, and no one else will decide how to use the money they earn jointly—whether to buy an ox-plow, install water, or do something else.

* * *

The fact that people cannot be forced into ujamaa villages or told how to run them does not mean that government and TANU have only to sit back and hope that people will be inspired to create them on their own. To get ujamaa villages established, and to help them to suceed, education and leadership are required. These are the things which TANU has to provide. It is our job to explain what an ujamaa village is, and to keep explaining it until the people understand. But the decision to start must be made by the people themselves—and it must be made by each individual.

In fact, once an ujamaa village is created, it is a democracy at work. For it provides an example of free discussion among equals, leading to their own decision-making. . . . and in this very process, the people will have begun to develop themselves as dignified and confident human beings, in a way which is impossible if they simply take orders from



This modern power plant supplies electricity for northeastern Tanzania and southeastern Kenya. The infrastructures of developing economies must be established before other areas, such as industry, can move ahead.

someone else. The fact that the orders of an "expert" may have led to greater output of a crop if they were fully carried out does not affect this issue. By debating this matter and then deciding for themselves, the people will be doing real

development of themselves. Achieving greater output will come later as they learn from their own experience, and as they are convinced that it would be a good idea to try a new method.

Yet government and TANU leaders can and should help these ujamaa villages and their members. Leaders should help people to understand the arguments for and against different methods of organization. We should make sure that the members have agricultural and other advice available to them when they are making their decisions.

Further, government and party leaders must make sure that ujamaa villages get priority in service to back up their own efforts and their own decisions. For example, if the members of an ujamaa village decide that they have a priority need for water, and that they can dig the ditches and buy the pipes but not the pump, then government and party should help them by providing a pump. But there must be no question of government assistance replacing the efforts of the members of an ujamaa village. Advice must be given, but the decisions must be those of the members themselves; help must be given when possible, but it must be help for something the people are already doing for themselves. These villages must start, and must grow, on the basis of self-reliance. For self-reliance is the means by which people develop.

[EDITOR'S POSTSCRIPT: An added advantage of "self-reliance" is that development takes place naturally and is not imposed from the outside; it is African, not European. In fact, some experts believe that Africa may have followed Western models too closely in its early development efforts, doing more harm than good in some cases.

These critics point out, for example, that mechanical devices such as tractors require skilled men to run and repair them; that the skilled men are either Europeans or Europeanized Africans; that these experts tend to look down on the "ignorant" farmers; that they often behave like colonialists, living in big houses and drawing large salaries, usually from foreign sources; that the farmers become passive in the face of arrogant experts and baffling machines; and that, as a result, development never reaches the people it is meant for.

Moreover, the cost of modern equipment is beyond the means of most African states. To buy tractors from abroad Africans must rely on foreign aid, which makes them once again dependent on outside decisions for their development. Such dependence is usually called "neo-colonialism," a new form of foreign control. What good is independence, Nyerere and other African leaders have reasoned, if Africans can't make these decisions for themselves? Hence, Tanzania's "self-reliance" approach to development.

Self-reliance does not mean doing away with tractors, however. It simply means waiting for the rest of the economy to develop so that tractors become a *natural* part of that economy. It means waiting until the farmers ask for tractors.]

*Change: Good and Bad**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: It is almost a law among social scientists that change in one aspect of society will bring changes in other aspects. It is not surprising, then, that economic development in Tanzania is affecting the social life of the people.

In the following selection, a young man, obviously educated, Westernized, and sympathetic to the goals of TANU, complains about the changes in marriage practices and tribal authority in his area brought about by government policies. He understands the reasons behind these policies, but that does not affect his emotional reaction.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

Why has the government replaced chiefs with TANU officials?

Why do you think the government forbids Tanzanians to work in South Africa?]

My area is Rungwe District, [which is] situated northwest

* A. Ipyana, "Student Essay," *Mbioni*, Vol. III, No. 1 (June 1966), pp. 30–34.

of Lake Nyasa and shares a territorial boundary with Malawi. As this area is one of the forgotten regions of Tanzania it is almost impossible for me to write about the positive side of development without saying something about the negative side.

After independence tremendous changes occurred. The chiefs were dethroned and replaced by members of TANU. Integration of the local government service has introduced a number of members of other tribes into the local authority services. This is a welcome change among members of my tribe who have a great respect for people who do not speak our language, greater respect than for members drawn from tribes nearby. . . .

All these post-independence changes have no doubt helped to detribalize our society and thus have paved the way for the realization of TANU objectives, namely, unity and consolidation of our independence. On the other hand, we notice that the dethroning of traditional chiefs has disrupted the noble feelings people used to have toward this office, which in my opinion is a bad thing.

I realize the point of doing away with chiefs. My point is that we have overtaxed our culture in this particular respect. The people regarded chiefs not only as leaders of society but also as their spokesmen in matters of worship. Even a Christian with an obscure chronic disease sought advice from the chief or from one of his assistants.

I remember my father, who was a Christian, going to a *lifumu* [headman] when for no reason understandable to him I started to look feeble and dry. My mother suspected that I was bewitched by some of our neighbors who were not satisfied with the way the meat from our dead calf was shared. The headman confirmed my mother's provisional

Extending roads and railroads is an important part of nation-building, for new means of communication lead to economic progress. They also produce social change, which is not always easy to accept.

diagnosis and called all our neighbors together. He rebuked them for what they had done to me and ordered them to free me from the "breath of men" immediately. My mother tells me I took no time to recover.

The chief and his headmen were leaders in the "war by night" against witches. The Executive Officer is fundamentally ignorant of this highly developed "science." The dethroned chiefs and headmen have lost face so they can not happily perform this duty. In this respect the people lack leadership in widely believed things.

It is comparatively easier to bring about political changes than it is to change social behavior in a society. With the exception of improved educational and medical facilities after

independence, the social developments that have taken place in my area are not the work of any organization but rather are a sequel to political and economic developments.

Associated with these two developments is the rise of marriageable age and the virtual disappearance of wedding ceremonies. Before independence it was not uncommon to see girls and boys of 15 and 18 years of age respectively marrying. At that time a young man wishing to marry just signed a contract with "WENELA," a labor bureau based in Johannesburg. After eighteen months in South Africa he would come back with enough money to buy cattle for the *lobola* [bride price or dowry]. In addition he would look smart and attract girls. I think it is correct to say that almost every physically fit young man with less than eight years' education went to work in the mines in South Africa. A number also went to the Rhodesias. Proof that very many young men went to South Africa was the fact that the language they speak in the mines (Sindebele) spread in the villages more quickly than Swahili.

A mission from our District Council visited South Africa shortly before independence to inquire into the working conditions in the mines. After their return they recommended to the government [that it] stop people who wished to go to South Africa to work. The adoption of this recommendation was followed by unemployment, land shortage, movement of landless families into the Usangu plains, and, as I have said before, the rise of marriageable age and virtual disappearance of wedding ceremonies.

A young man who somehow manages to get one or two head of cattle becomes engaged to a girl. As time goes on he finds himself unable to get money with which to complete the bride price. He goes and snatches away the girl without

the customary wedding ceremonies, promising the girl's parents that he will pay the price in installments. Marriages of this kind go without the traditional blessing of the village elders, and this, I reckon, is partly the reason why there have been so many divorces and illegitimate children lately. . . .

It should not be understood for a moment that I am interested only in the development of this bit of our country. What I am suggesting is that whatever the authorities wish to do in the way of socio-economic and political development in that area, they should first try to understand the present feelings of the people.

*Escape from Foreign Aid**

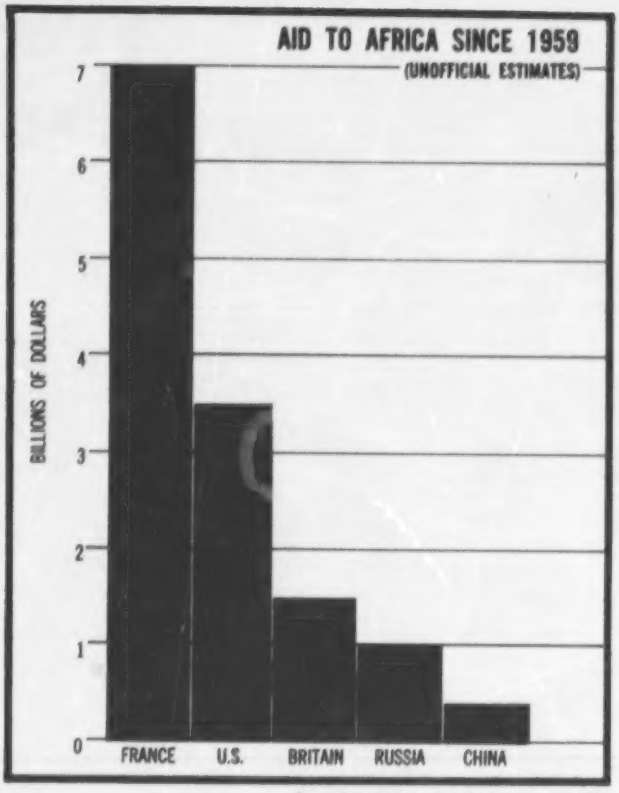
[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Foreign aid is important to developing nations. It provides food, technical assistance, and badly needed capital. If given in sufficient amounts, it can serve as a real encouragement to industrialization. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in Tanzania—or in most of Africa—for a number of reasons.

First, there is not enough foreign aid to make a significant difference. Africa receives only about 20 per cent of the aid given in the world, and its share is falling compared to Asia and Latin America. In 1968 Tanzania received about $23.7 million in aid, which amounts to less than $2 per person. (The United States contributed $5.7 million.)

Secondly, much of this aid is in the form of loans which must be repaid with interest. Some developing countries are already paying back more than they are receiving; there is more capital flowing out than in.

Thirdly, foreign aid often comes with strings attached. Frequently the recipient is required to make purchases from the donor country. The recipient country is not free to buy on the open (sometimes cheaper) market and hence pays

* A. M. Babu, "Regional Unification and National Planning," speech delivered at Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, reprinted in *Mbioni*, Vol. III, Nos. 8 & 9 (January and February, 1967), pp. 39–47.)



Source: U.S. Agency for International Development 1969

more for its goods than it otherwise would. And finally, foreign currency—so badly needed to deal in the international market—has to be used to pay foreign experts who come to work under aid programs.

Foreign aid, then, is not the great boon that it is often cracked up to be. In fact, the United States spends as much money in three weeks in Vietnam as it does in one year to aid the *entire* world; it spends as much in twenty-three minutes in Vietnam as it gave to Tanzania in all of 1969.

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Escape from Foreign Aid

In the following selection, the Tanzanian Minister of Health, Mr. A. M. Babu, explains his country's need to develop from within, independent of foreign aid.

As you read his speech, think of these questions:

How do developing countries lose in trade?

What can be done about it?]

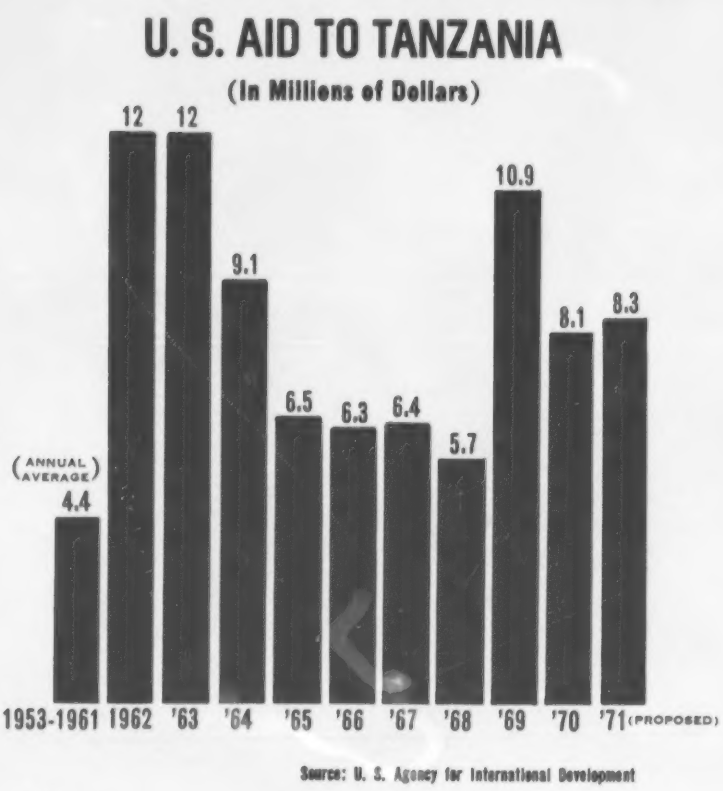
To the developing countries the economic trend in the present world situation is depressing indeed. Put simply, the situation is one in which the rich countries get richer and the poor poorer. We struggled to get rid of colonialism . . . [but] in the wake of the post-colonial era, we discover that the economic exploitation by the ex-colonial powers is even more intensified through one kind of machination or another.

By definition, colonialism means a system of forcing colonized countries to be producers of raw materials for the industries of the metropolitan or "mother" countries. This arrangement has resulted in the lopsided economic development of our countries and in our dependence on foreign trade. Our economies are extremely sensitive to any change, however so slight, in the world market situation. Any shift, for better or worse, results in a corresponding shift in our internal situation. Hitherto, with the exception of periods of world crisis, as during the Korean War, all shifts have taken a turn to the worse.

The prices of the primary products of which the developing countries are the main producers have steadily been falling, and the prices of the industrial goods, of which, again, the developing countries are the main consumers, have steadily been rising. We are the losers either way. We lose in

our sales and we lose in our purchases. The rich countries of Europe get their needs cheaply and sell their wares dear. It may be interesting to note here that this tendency has resulted, according to United Nations figures, in the developed countries' pocketing net profits from the developing countries at the rate of 3½ million dollars per hour! These are 1964 figures. The gap continues to widen, and the rate of such outflow may be very much above this figure by now.

These are the realities of the current situation. The political instabilities, the coups and countercoups, that are fashionable



in most of the developing countries stem directly from this economic strangulation of the developing countries by the developed ones, and unless this unbalanced situation is rectified even world peace is in danger.

Who is to rectify it? Will the developed countries wake up one fine morning and announce that they will henceforth cease to exploit the developing countries? We might just as well wait for Doomsday. Will massive economic aid from developed countries rectify the situation? Not when they take out our wealth at the rate of 3½ million dollars per hour. In fact, the more "aid" comes in, the more "profit" goes out.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

First we must transform our economies in such a way that we are less and less dependent on foreign trade, at least at the initial stages of our preparation for "take-off." . . .

Second, we must so transform our economies as to make ourselves not as overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture, and we must concentrate our efforts on introducing heavy and consumer industries (in that order) as fast as we can.

Third, in planning for the above two objectives we must be self-reliant. We must never include "foreign aid" or "foreign investments" as part of our plan; we must take them, as it were, in our stride. If they come, well and good; if not, the plan is not affected.

It is clear that the first objective is probably the most difficult in countries like ours, where the vast majority of the population is still outside the monetary sector of the economy, to say nothing of the smallness of our populations. Nevertheless, in order to activate the economy we must begin somewhere. . . .

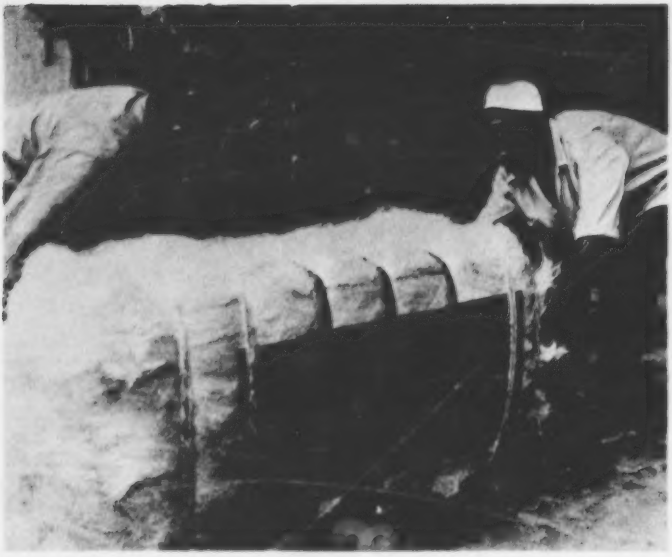
What are the economic realities of, say, Africa? I would say without hesitation, unemployment and low productivity, which result in poor health, short life, poor communications, shortage of schools, and so on. So a realistic plan must aim, as its first priority, at mobilizing the population to full employment and higher productivity. This will ensure the solving of the three basic problems of underdevelopment; namely, feeding, clothing, and housing the population.

By mobilizing the masses in the agricultural sector for full employment in the field, you ensure that there will be plenty to eat all round for everyone including the young (who are so numerous in the developing countries) and the disabled. By mobilizing them for higher productivity you are opening the way for maximum utilization of available resources. Instead of waiting for the tractor (with its hundred and one problems), the peasants will look round for draught animals; they will use available ones and raise more for future expansion.

The more of these animals are raised, the more productive they get, not only in preparing the field, but in dairy and meat production for the consumption of local people. . . .

The producers of food crops and meat will feed the cotton growers who will set up textile mills to clothe themselves and the producers of food crops and meat. The surplus of food crops, meat, and cotton as a result of higher productivity will be exported to bring money which will enable them to buy machinery which they need for their productive work.

This results in a healthy and rational industrialization which makes industry revolve around agriculture. We build industry to produce our needs for agricultural implements (and later tractors, etc.); we build chemical industries for the same



These men are preparing sisal, Tanzania's leading product, for export. Tanzania's trade balance ran into trouble, but it showed some improvement in 1969 and 1970.

purpose of increasing our productivity, and we also build industry to process our agricultural produce. . . .

In other words, the economy will begin to have a sounder foundation, an industralized economy with agriculture as a base. As industry develops, new demands begin to be felt. These are, shall we say, demands for size, scope, and savings.

It is better business to manufacture and sell a million boxes of matches than to manufacture and sell a third of that number, even if in addition to matches you produce and sell cups and saucers also in modest quantity. Apart from being good business, large-scale production makes industrial sense. Advantages are: industrial potential is exploited to the maximum; efficiency, resulting from specialization, increases

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productivity; the consumer pays less for his mass-produced needs. In economic terms, you benefit from economies of scale.

When one talks of regional unification one thinks of these advantages. Developing countries cannot afford any wastages of any sort. Europe, with all its industrial might, realized that it cannot survive in fragments, not in these days of sputniks and space-walks, and it is trying to unite under the European Economic Community as an exercise in self-preservation. If they are to compete with American and Soviet giants, they have to be giants themselves. This is the logic of development.

In Africa we have a choice, of either dignified and graceful extinction, complete with our national flags and anthems, very much like the Egyptian Pharoahs with their treasures, or of emerging as one mighty force to be reckoned with. It is only a matter of time before we see the emergence of both Americas as one mighty economic unit; the Soviet Union and her allies as another; China, singly or with the rest of Southeast Asia, as a third force. This is the trend which is already beginning to take shape. To live among giants you must be a giant yourself, and therefore it is imperative that Africa plan its development on the assumptions of a giant.

Regional unification is one step toward that direction. Immediate steps must be taken to coordinate investment and trade policies of the regions that are to be unified. I would like to see an immediate and complete unification of East Africa; but even this is not big enough. The meeting of the eleven heads of state which was convened at Nairobi [in 1966] represented a sizable region of Africa about which one can sit down and talk seriously. I would like to see

another such representative meeting, this time attended by planners, with only one item on the agenda: unification. . . .

Regional unification, however, should not be an end in itself, but only a means to the greater unification of the whole continent. Thus, when our planners draw up their plans they will do so with an eye on possible future adjustments. Ideally, the Organization of African Unity [OAU], probably with the assistance of the United Nations, should draw up a continental plan alloting to each region the development of such projects which would later be coordinated on a continental basis. However, this is still a dream and I have no desire to discuss dreams, not at this stage anyway.

*Gaining Momentum**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Tanzania's decision to follow a socialistic course of self-reliance reached a high point on February 5, 1967, when President Nyerere made the famous Arusha Declaration.

After a month touring the villages of the country—the "long march," TANU called it—the President convened a meeting of TANU leaders in Arusha, a town in northeast Tanzania, and announced that henceforth the means of production—the land and big business—would be taken from the handful of foreigners and wealthy Tanzanians who controlled them and turned over to the people. The next day the government nationalized all foreign-owned banks, insurance companies, import-export firms, and several factories. President Nyerere promised full compensation to the former owners.

The Arusha Declaration immediately became a point of reference in Tanzania's history. People spoke of pre-Arusha and post-Arusha. As one writer said, "Nyerere had at a stroke brought his country further along the road to socialism than even former President Kwame Nkrumah." (Nkrumah, of Ghana, had been the leading spokesman of socialism in Africa.)

As we have seen, socialism is the "natural" economic sys-

* *The New York Times*, January 30, 1970, p. 60. © 1970 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

tem for Tanzania, according to Nyerere, because it fits traditional *ujamaa* and is well suited for a developing peasant economy. Who else besides the government has enough money to invest in the "business" of nation-building?

But there is another reason for socialism in Tanzania, and throughout most of Africa. Colonialism left an economic system owned largely by foreigners. To finish the work of independence, African governments have gradually taken over the means of production. This emphasis on Africanizing the economy is perhaps a more central issue in African socialism than is government ownership.

The group of non-African owners in Tanzania most affected by the Arusha Declaration were the resident Indians. Although they number only about 80,000 in a total population of almost 13 million, they controlled most of the commerce in the country. Virtually all of the wholesale houses were in Indian hands. They now have been nationalized.

To further break the Indian grip on the economy, the Tanzanian government has refused to renew work permits for Indians holding British passports. Even valid work permits were cancelled in 1967, after the Arusha Declaration, to encourage Indians to leave the country. Hundreds and probably thousands have already left—nobody knows exactly how many—and many more are sure to follow. Most of them go to England. (Even more Indians have lost their jobs in Kenya and Uganda and are leaving those countries.)

The Indians of East Africa are descendants of artisans and laborers whom the British brought over about eighty years ago to build a railroad from Mombasa, on the Kenyan coast, to the interior. Most of them retained their British citizenship after independence. Those who became Tanzanian citizens have not been affected by the Africanization program, except for the natural resentment Africans are bound to hold toward a "foreign" minority that controls its economy. Imagine what the American revolutionaries would have done if, after defeating the British in 1783, they found their wealth still controlled by outsiders in 1790.

The Arusha Declaration was essentially a reassertion of Tanzania's independence. In effect it said: we will control our own economy and if need be we will develop it alone, with the labor of the masses who now own it. Outside observers, mostly Westerners, reacted negatively to the nationalization of British and Indian interests. They detected a turn to the left, toward Communism. But President Nyerere has asserted time and again that the turn was neither East nor West but toward Tanzania. Nevertheless, foreign investments and aid dropped off, and the Tanzanian economy slowed down for a year after Arusha. Since then it has turned upward, however, as the following selection points out.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

What has helped Tanzania to recover economically?

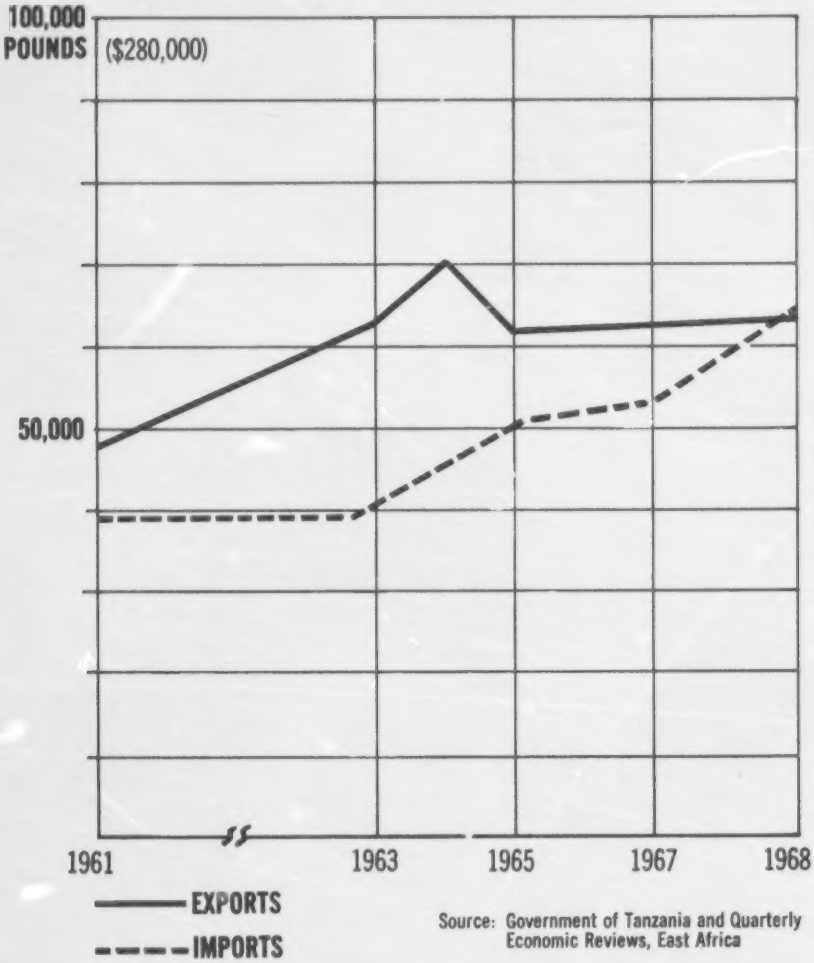
What major projects are under way?]

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania—Helped by a recovery in trade and a large inflow of foreign aid from both West and East, Tanzanian development gained a momentum last year that promised to continue through 1970.

New aid projects, including a major undertaking by Communist China to construct a railroad, were concentrated largely on the expansion of transportation to open large areas of the country.

Some $16.5 million of United States aid [spread over three years], representing the largest single allotment so far to this East African country, is being used to reconstruct and widen the worst stretch of the Tanzam Highway. This is the road Zambia has used to ship copper and obtain supplies since she joined in applying sanctions to Rhodesia in 1966.

TANZANIA: EXPORT-IMPORT TRENDS



Source: Government of Tanzania and Quarterly Economic Reviews, East Africa

The American-aided project will continue into 1971, and the Chinese construction of the rail link extending into Zambia is expected to get under way in March or April, 1970, and take five years to complete.

Tanzania's trade balance, which in 1968 swung into deficit for the first time in many years, showed every sign last year of righting itself with a small surplus.

A good level of exports was maintained by higher prices for coffee, sisal, and cloves and by a doubling in the production of cashew nuts. For the first seven months of 1969, exports totaled $134.4 million, a gain of 5 per cent, while imports at $136 million showed a 7 per cent decline.

Sisal prices, which had fallen sharply in recent years because of the competition from plastics, have been improving. . . . Although lower quantities have been shipped, a $20-a-ton price increase to nearly $134 raised earnings in the first seven months of 1969 by 10 per cent.

CLOVES AND CASHEWS UP

A sharp jump in production of and demand for cloves enabled seven-month earnings to advance by 73 per cent to $11.2 million, while returns on cashews for the period rose 111 per cent, to $14 million. [Zanzibar produces more than 90 per cent of the world's cloves.]

Under the African-socialist policies that have allowed both an expropriation and a new accommodation of private enterprise in Tanzania, officials here see nothing unusual in having both American and Chinese aid for various branches of transportation.

Although banks and other concerns were nationalized in 1967, some of them and some new foreign investors have achieved a working partnership with the government in the Tanzanian National Development Corporation.

The new 1,100-mile railroad is a project that both the Tanzanian and Zambian governments have been determined

to carry out despite past discouragement from the World Bank and Western countries generally. Western experts have maintained that the railway, which will pass through large areas uninhabited at present, would be uneconomic. But this objectioin appears not to bother the Chinese, who hope to recover some of the prestige they have lost in Africa by carrying out the $250 million project.

The rail line is expected to follow much of the some route that is followed by the Tanzam Highway and by an oil pipeline built with Italian aid in 1968. Zambian copper shipments, the line's proponents believe, will be sufficient to make the road pay for itself.

TANZANIAN EXPORTS (in thousands of dollars)

Products	*1967*	*1968*
Meat and meat products	5,866	5,622
Butter	42	17
Fish and fish products	454	692
Maize and maize flour	190	854
Cashew nuts	8,540	7,963
Canned pineapple	–	–
Peas, beans, lentils	1,240	1,593
Coffee	25,973	30,327
Tea	4,687	5,222
Animal feed	3,805	3,870
Hides and skins	3,436	3,567
Oilseeds	3,763	4,914
Wood and timber	1,019	1,075
Raw wool	–	–
Raw cotton	27,112	31,130
Sisal	22,912	17,735
Wattle bark and extract	1,243	1,112
Pyrethrum and extract	3,853	2,159
Soda ash	–	–
Diamonds	28,302	16,766
Copper and alloys	–	–
Gold	538	563
Total	176,128	179,001
Countries		
United Kingdom	57,187	45,970
Australia	2,313	2,016
Canada	4,519	2,817
Hong Kong	11,917	14,171
India	9,937	8,529
Zambia	14,381	18,494
Belgium	5,012	3,436
Italy	4,903	3,716
Netherlands	6,933	6,695
West Germany	8,086	8,210
China	6,143	,272
Japan	7,302	12,331
U.S.A.	7,666	11,631
Total	176,128	179,001

SOURCE: *Quarterly Economic Reviews*, East Africa.

TANZANIAN IMPORTS (in thousands of dollars)

Products	*1967*	*1968*
Milk and cream, canned	4,040	2,405
Rice	501	2,198
Sugar, beet and cane	14	367
Beverages	762	840
Petroleum and petroleum products	11,256	16,047
Chemicals	7,238	9,626
Rubber, tires and tubes	3,455	4,673
Wood and cork manufactures	193	297
Paper and paper manufactures	2,601	2,929
Cotton cloth	6,121	10,562
Man-made-fiber cloth	1,431	2,778
Jute bags	2,405	3,161
Blankets and rugs	330	350
Nonmetallic mineral goods	1,299	1,946
Iron and steel	10,811	8,389
Other base metals	10,909	11,066
Nonelectric machinery	23,352	23,428
Electric machinery	8,383	10,783
Railway vehicles	328	305
Passenger cars	3,154	3,637
Commercial vehicles	10,629	12,757
Other transport equipment	12,144	11,679
Clothing	1,926	6,493
Total	150,505	180,054
Countries		
United Kingdom	46,477	50,468
India	4,623	6,544
Pakistan	2,262	3,156
Belgium	1,518	1,988
France	5,032	7,862
Italy	13,230	13,196
Netherlands	5,900	9,545
West Germany	10,002	12,300
Iran	8,210	12,281
China	7,888	9,556
Japan	7,529	14,871
U.S.A.	12,323	8,924
Total	150,505	180,054

SOURCE: *Quarterly Economic Reviews,* East Africa.

*The Schools: Preparation for What?**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Education is one of the prime targets of nation-builders. Without it, there is no hope for the future.

In Tanzania, enormous sums of money—more than 20 per cent of the government's budget—are being poured into education. Yet there are only enough primary schools for 50 per cent of the children. Of these, only 10 per cent will be able to go on to secondary school, and only 1 per cent to college.

Moreover, the educational system inherited from the British was designed to produce obedient, non-thinking clerks for the colonial offices—hardly the type of leader needed in Tanzania today. The system did nothing at all to prepare students to return to the land (where most of them go).

The following selection deals with these problems and Tanzania's attempt to solve them. As you read it, think of these questions:

What is wrong with the present system, according to this writer?

How does he think it should be changed?]

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* Jos Elstgeest, "Primary Education: Revolution for Self-Reliance," in Idrian N. Resnick, ed., *Tanzania: Revolution by Education,* Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania Ltd., 1968, pp. 229–33.

Imagine [that] we find ourselves one day in some remote village. We have a very limited amount of money. We live in a mud house. We do have some pots, a hoe, a water tin or two, some clothes, a bed, and a few other simple, unimportant things. There is water in a not too distant river. There is plenty of land around us; most of it is poor. Generally, we are poor. Our neighbors are poor. There is practically no employment around our place. Even trying to find a job in town is difficult, because there are so many looking for work.

This is the situation facing most Tanzanian children leaving the primary schools—poverty and drudgery, poor houses, poor plots of land, poor and insufficient food, poor villages, poor health—a poor life and no prospects of escaping.

Although there is no way of getting away from it, perhaps there is a way of facing it. It is legitimate to ask why all these frustrated youngsters drift into towns, often making a nuisance of themselves; whether "harder work" is the only answer; whether they know why they should work harder; whether the government should do something about it; and whether the government can do something about it.

Education appears to be the answer, but what do we mean by education? While it appears that primary education is the only education most Tanzanian children receive, home education and tribal education must not be ignored, particularly for those children who do not attend primary school at all. Furthermore, until now, the impact of primary education itself on improving the life of the ordinary citizen—the man in the village—has been small. For "primary" implies "secondary," and the primary school in Tanzania has been nothing but a preparation for the secondary school, in spite of all the assurances given in the introductions to syllabuses

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This Tanzanian child will probably enjoy a longer, healthier life than his parents because of current development efforts. The health posters behind him read, "The modern man washes his hands before eating" and "The modern man boils water and milk before drinking."

that it should be a self-contained course. And teachers and the public tend to evaluate a school according to the numbers who are selected for secondary school. This would be more tolerable if it were not for the fact that secondary education generally leads its recipients to an entirely different life, away from the village, away from the society which produced them and which so much depends upon them, away to the coveted "white-collar job," complete with tie, radio and car.

The whole purpose of the primary-secondary system in

colonial days was, and in many respects still is, to produce useful [civil] servants, who know what to do when told. The best were selected for further training in some profession; this system has produced many good, useful, and reliable [civil] servants and clerks. But Tanzania needs much more than reliable servants!

Furthermore, the selection process for secondary school is based on an examination which, although it is called a general entrance examination, might be more appropriately termed a "special exit examination." This examination is based entirely on memorized facts which were considered "useful" for the trades and the services this system leads to and which, therefore, found their way into the syllabuses. These syllabuses are blueprints to be followed rigidly in order to minimize the chances of "failure." This has led to the practice in most primary schools of teaching what is to be tested, instead of testing what has been taught!

However, only a small number (10 per cent), of the primary school completers are selected for secondary schools. Consequently, children are prepared for something they will never achieve—an exit from poor rural society to developed urban life. This has led people in all walks of life to refer to primary school–leavers who have not been selected for secondary school as those "who have failed." Even these children regard themselves as failures. But if this is the case, it means that 90 per cent of the effort in the primary schools—90 per cent of the money spent, the manpower used, the teachers trained, the buildings erected—has been wasted.

As long as this attitude persists, as long as the public (and officials) evaluate the primary schools according to the number of pupils selected for secondary schools, as long as

the "general entrance examination" determines "what to teach," the country will, in fact, waste much time, money, and effort on primary education. The public's attitude may prevent the system from significantly changing, but if it does not change radically, these 90 per cent will continue to be prepared for something they will never achieve, and will continue to be regarded, and to regard themselves, as failures.

Thus, this "primary-secondary white-collar" system has led to an alienation between what is learned at school and the life of the ordinary Tanzanian. It is an elitist system which produces good servants, good workers under supervision, and good followers. It does not foster personal initiative.

AGRICULTURE AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

It has been realized in many circles for some time that the selection system does not serve the large numbers who are not "selected," and voices have been raised for a solution to be found. After a lengthy process of evaluation, the obvious answer seemed to be the introduction of agriculture into the primary schools. Agriculture, as "the main source of livelihood," "the backbone of the country's economy," provides a logical foundation upon which to base the only education received by the vast majority of those who obtain any education at all.

However, if agriculture is introduced into the system as another subject in an unchanged school curriculum, its impact will be small. For science, geography, history, health, and hygiene—in fact, all of the subjects taught in the schools —have very little influence on the daily lives of the primary school children or their families. For example, although it says in the hygiene syllabus that children must learn to keep

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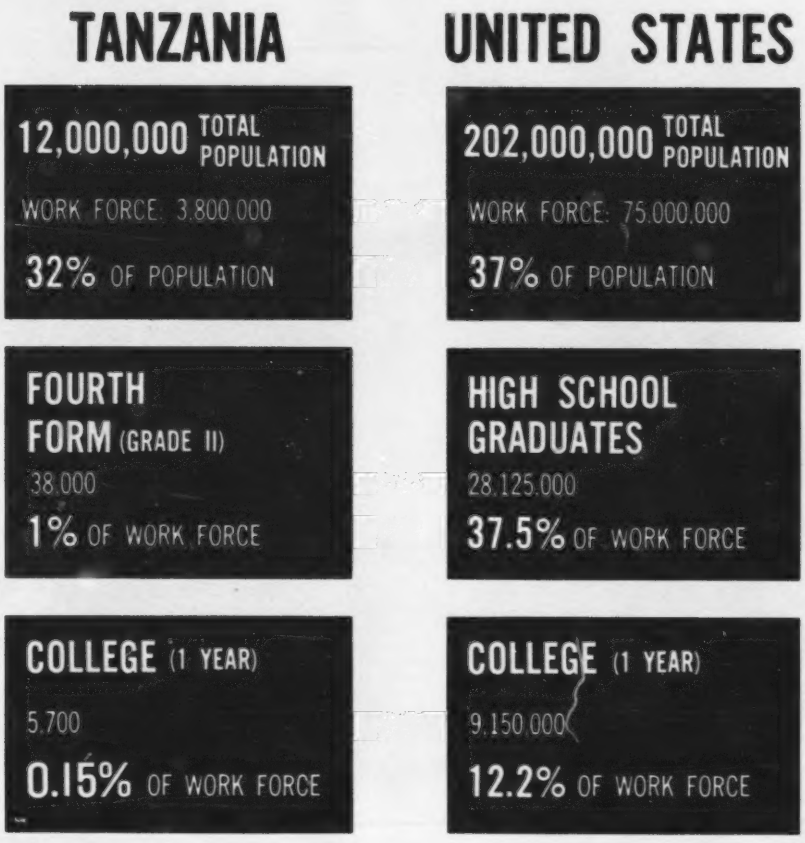

Source: Government of Tanzania 1967

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1969

their houses clean, few families in which a member has received, or is receiving, a primary education have clean houses. It says in the hygiene syllabus that there are many waterborne diseases, so we should purify and boil our water, but not many of these families do filter and boil their drinking water. It says in the hygiene syllabus that there are

many flyborne diseases, so we should keep our food covered, dispose of waste in the proper way, keep latrines covered and away from the living quarters if they are not sanitary, etc., but not many of these families follow these rules.

Primary-education recipients (young and old) seldom ask themselves what can be done about flies, fleas, lice, bedbugs, bilharzia, malaria, skin rashes, worms, etc. Their general attitude, like that of the rest of the people, is that these things are "God's will" and "bad luck"—an attitude of defeatism and fatalism. They have learned all these things in the school—they may have answered questions concerning all this on the exam—but they do not know why they have learned it. Hardly ever have they learned to ask these questions, and almost never to rely upon the answers they might have found in the asking. After all, there are schools for "learning," there are doctors for disease, and there is medicine for the worms.

The teachers, the educators on the spot, the men most closely involved in the actual educational process, are not asked whether their teaching has any effect on the village, whether they boil their water and keep clean and protected. They are only asked: "On which page of the book, at what number of the syllabus are you? Where are your lesson notes, your visual aids, your health posters?"

The following is a typical example of the failure to integrate learning and living. A teacher strictly followed the instructions of the syllabus when teaching a hygiene lesson on how to keep the compound [yard] clean. All the rules appeared on the blackboard, and the teacher carefully littered the school compound and let the children "apply" what they had been taught. And the children burned the paper, dug holes for the tins, and carried the chicken manure in their hands to dispose of it among the flowers; and *nobody,*

including the teacher, thought of going and washing his hands before returning to the classroom!

Why are the farms and the cattle and the chickens of ex-primary farmers no better than those of the rest of the people? Why are so many of their farms still poor? Is it because they are ignorant about planting; that they have never heard of loosening the soil; or that they have never heard of manure and fertilizer? Why is there so much uncontrolled burning? Why is there so much overgrazing? Why is there so much overcultivation and exhaustion of soil? Why are the village chickens still the wretched things they have always been? How many ex-primary farmers ask themselves what they could do to improve their farms? How many ask themselves why it should (or should not) be possible for them to have two crops a year? How many ask themselves how they can solve the problem of getting water onto their farm? How many ask themselves why they cannot grow different crops on their farms except millet and cassava, and what would be a good, a profitable, or a palatable crop? How many ask themselves how they can cope with pests and weeds?

But all these things are, and were, taught in the schools! They were even demonstrated on the school farm. It is, and was, all in the syllabus. It was asked and answered in the exam! They were asked these questions, but were never taught to ask these questions themselves or how to rely upon the answers they might have found. The system is based on the assumption that answers should be given, not found. The children have never learned to rely upon themselves.

The minutes of the meeting of Regional Education Officers held at Dar es Salaam on August 8, 1966 contain the following:

> "The recommendation that the basic aim of the course [primary] should be to *motivate pupils to a healthy attitude toward the land as a livelihood* was agreed. It was further explained that it was intended to produce not farmers, but the *right attitude* toward the land."

This is so beautifully, wisely, and emphatically worded that it must not be interpreted to mean that agriculture will simply be put back into the schools; it means much more. Agriculture was introduced into the syllabus in 1955 by the colonial government and did not change attitudes toward the land and did not motivate the children in any way. In our present primary-secondary white-collar system, agriculture as another subject with a syllabus and time-table periods has little chance of succeeding either, simply because it does not fit in with the rest of the system. That is, it does not make it any easier for students to enter secondary school. But Tanzania cannot afford to have, year after year, some 50,000 children whose ambition is left without a challenge, and who feel frustrated because (they think) they failed; the country cannot afford to have, year after year, some 50,000—as one of Tanzania's leaders described them—"angry young men." . . .

*Village Pioneers**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Not all students lack respect for the land. The following news story tells of a group of school-leavers who decided to start their own ujamaa village. Admittedly, this story is unusual, but it does illustrate the growing sense of self-reliance that can be found in rural Tanzania.

(At this writing, in early 1970, there is still doubt about the success of the ujamaa village concept. In some areas, traditional small-plot farmers do not want to move into villages for fear of losing family land. In other areas, the idea is spreading too fast for the government to supply tools, water, roads, schools, or expert advice. Nobody knows for certain how many ujamaa villages there are, but the number is surely in the thousands.)

Despite difficulties, the boys in this story are on their way to success.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

How does their experience show socialism in operation?

How different is it from capitalism?]

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* Based on a news story from Maelezo Feature Service, Tanzania Information Services Division, Dar es Salaam.

What does an 11-year-old boy do when he is forced to quit school? How does he make a living when he has no skills and is considered too young for "men's work"?

Most boys this age would simply drift or help out at home. But recently one such youngster joined a group of school-leavers in a venture that no adult thought would work: building an ujamaa village from scratch.

The group, consisting of twelve boys, is probably the youngest village unit in Tanzania. The average age of the boys is 14; the oldest is 17. Without any outside help or encouragement, the boys began work in 1968, and today they are well on their way to becoming successful farmers.

"It all started when we finished primary school," said Aron Honde, age 15, the leader of the group. "We didn't have anything to do so we roamed around the villages. We were jus idle. We tried to get jobs in Songea town but we couldn't.

"I went to my home village and tried to think of something. But nothing seemed to work. I tried to join an ujamaa village nearby but they said I was too young to do hard work.

"A few days later I met with the other boys. They were having the same troubles. We talked about it and finally decided to start our own village."

The boys went to Hanga, about 25 miles from Songea town, where they found some vacant land. They began work immediately, first building a hut and then clearing the forest of trees for their *shamba.*

"Our parents didn't know what to make of this," said Honde. "Some of them almost notified the police. They thought we were hooligans."

But the community soon realized that the boys were

Answering the call of President Nyerere, these school children are participating in a self-help project to build a hospital.

serious. The missionaries at the Hanga Catholic Mission heard about the project and offered their help.

The boys were in desperate need of tools, clothing, and most of all food. The missionaries gave them six *pangas* [hand sickles], six axes, eight hens, six rabbits, and some pigeons. One Sunday, when Bishop Jacob Komba was preaching at a church in Songea Diocese, he appealed to his congregation to help these youth. A number of people responded with cash donations.

During the 1969 planting season, the boys cultivated about fourteen acres of food and cash crops, including soya beans, maize, sim sim, vegetables, and fruit, from which they earned about $84. They earned another $21 from their poultry.

Honde said the group's average monthly income is $6.30. "We are hoping to raise this to $28 a month sooner or later," he added.

Some of the income is used to meet the various needs of the village. The rest is divided equally among the boys to buy personal items such as clothes and shoes.

The group plans to stay together and expand the village to 25 members. The ultimate goal is to develop 500 acres of land for farming, poultry, and livestock.

Not even marriage will separate the boys. "Anyone who gets married will get his own house, and his wife will be our sister-in-law," said one of the boys.

There is little doubt that these boys are better off than most school-leavers in Tanzania. They have more food clothes, and other "luxuries" than most youngsters their age. But most important, they are building the foundation of their country's future. They are proving that self-reliance can work.

Message to all Students
and
Cleaning the Classroom

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: A news story that appeared five months after the Arusha Declaration began this way.

> President Julius Nyerere, a former teacher, is trying to revolutionize education in Tanzania so that it stops producing an elite graduate who turns his nose up at peasants, dreams of a big Mercedes, specializes in Tudor history and refuses to work with his hands. These graduates, the usual product of African educational systems, cripple African development because they fill important jobs in the government and then neglect the masses in the countryside and their economic problems.

A few years ago African students were the only participants at an international students conference in Israel who refused to work on a kibbutz [cooperative farm]. "We assume that these young men should be protected from rough work," Nyerere writes. "Our pupils learn to despise even their own parents because they are old-fashioned and ignorant."

Tanzanian schools are trying to eliminate such "intellectual arrogance," realizing that rural development through socialism depends upon leaders with a new attitude. The

first part of the following selection, "Message to All Students," is a speech delivered by the Tanzanian Minister of Education on the opening of school in 1964. The second part, "Cleaning the Classroom," is a high school girl's account of how she overcame her phobia for dirty hands.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

What does Tanzania ask of its students?

Why is cleaning a classroom important for national development?]

MESSAGE TO ALL STUDENTS*

Good-day to all Students!

This is the beginning of a new, exciting, and challenging period of our national history. The ambitious planning for rapid development in our economy and in our social living during the next five years calls for the utmost from each of us. The President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, has likened this endeavor to nothing less than the call for *uhuru* in the recent past year.

At this time in the history of our country, it is, therefore, proper to consider afresh the aims of your school or college in particular, and of secondary schools and colleges in general, in relation to our new nation.

What does the nation require of its secondary schools and colleges? First, though not necessarily of the first importance, it requires *competence,* that every pupil shall achieve the highest academic standard of which he or she is capable. I

* Solomon Eliufoo (Minister of Education), "Message to All Students on the Eve of the New National Endeavor," speech delivered on July 1, 1964.

These primary-school students are among the lucky 50 per cent of Tanzanian children who are able to enter school. Only 10 per cent of those who enter primary school will find room in the secondary schools of Tanzania.

have noted the achievement of some schools in this respect and I am pleased to congratulate them, both students and staff, on the results they achieved in past years' examinations. I would ask you all to try harder still, with new methods perhaps, to ensure that results are even better. The nation invests annually more than 2,000 shillings [$340] in each student in the post-primary institutions. We cannot afford to waste it. There can be no excuse for failure.

Secondly, students are also expected to be of high *moral character*. You are expected to show gratitude to the nation for what it is investing in you by showing respect not only for those in authority in the school but for those in authority outside the school, and also for the ordinary person in or outside the school. The country cannot afford to waste the severe

sacrifices it is making to enable some of its sons and daughters to have post-primary education, and the future character of our nation depends on you. So you must realize your great privilege and responsibility.

Thirdly, the nation requires competence in another sense—not only good examination results or paper qualifications, but also the *ability to turn a trained mind to the solution of our problems.* All students will find themselves called up to make known their advanced knowledge to simple people, and to apply it in a vast number of ways never dreamed of by their teachers. I am pleased to know that a number of you are already getting experience in this way, by teaching in adult literacy classes and by participating in other nation-building programs. You need to engage yourselves more in such work in order to acquire the spirit and experience which today motivate fundamentally your motherland: Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Fourthly, the nation requires *character* in people whose training in school is fitting them for responsible positions in public service where they are to work not only for their benefit but for the benefit of the public—that is, old men and children, workers in fields or factories, the sick, or co-operatives in the villages and towns of this country. In order to be effective in the service you will need to understand their situation and way of life, not as something from which you can escape and to which you are superior, but as something to be endured with them as they endure or to be enjoyed with them as they enjoy. The spirit of service is desperately needed in this nation. I do not have to say more on this point as you must have noticed deficiencies in this respect in our public services. Lack of sympathy for other people in some public employees is an ailing we must get rid of soon.

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Further, you will need *imagination and fellow-feeling.* This is why it is necessary for all secondary-school pupils to participate in National Services Training, where you will learn to work hand in hand with those who are not as lucky as you are and contribute jointly to the well-being and progress of your nation.

I wish each and all of you the best of school life.

CLEANING THE CLASSROOM*

On the opening day of the third term, we were informed by our teacher that we were henceforth to clean our classrooms every afternoon. We all looked at each other in surprise at this bombshell. The duties were then assigned to all.

That afternoon, it was my turn. I was in a fix how to clean and sweep as I had never done that before. I wondered how I would learn this new art. Moreover, I considered it below my dignity even to hold the broom, far from doing cleaning work.

Fortunately, we were a jolly set of five. So the sense of humiliation and indignity was shared. I held the broom and touched the floor carefully as if it were a "touch-me-not." Anyway the broom started its work and the dust particles made us sneeze terribly. Of course the floor was cleaned but not until my head, hands, and face were coated with dust. We then cleaned the windows and blackboard.

After washing my hands and face, I began to think hard about the purpose behind this experiment. . . . As if by revelation, I realized that there was and is every sense in cleaning

* From *Mwengi,* magazine of The Grewal Primary and Secondary School, Bukoba, Tanzania, 1967.

the classroom because that morning I had read a proverb: "I shout, thou shout, who will carry the dust out." And then, cleanliness is next to godliness. Cleanliness of classrooms means cleanliness of atmosphere, which brings purity of ideas resulting in purity and nobility of actions.

In the broader sense of the word, it inculcates in us a sense of disciplined dignity of labor. We should take pride in doing things with our own hands and feel happy that we have done something useful and constructive. The school is, truly speaking, a training ground where we are . . . equipped with knowledge and other qualities of "head and heart" so that we may not be found wanting when we come face to face with the stark reality of life.

Now that the Five Year Development Plan is launched by the government, it becomes obligatory on all, especially on the students, to contribute their full share to it. If we shirk our duties or feel shy of doing things with our own hands, our nation cannot make any headway.

Cleaning of the classroom is only one instance. . . . What is worthy of note is the deep meaning of "dignity of labor" hidden in it. We should therefore feel no hesitation in doing a thing, howsoever humble it be, because some of the great men have worked with their own hands at one time or another in their life. Lloyd George was a farmer; Ramsay MacDonald was a laborer, and so was Abraham Lincoln of the U.S.A. And why turn to the West? Here in Tanganyika, we have the glowing example of Dr. Julius Nyerere, the President of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, who was the first to set the example of digging the soil with a hoe in his hand. It is he who gave us the most meaningful slogan *"Uhuru na Kazi"* [Freedom and Work], and he means what he says.

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National Youth Service

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: In 1963 Tanzania launched a youth program, called the Tanzania National Service, designed to bring young people together on a voluntary basis to develop military and development skills that the country needs.

Today service in this nation-building "army" is compulsory for all high school graduates and college students; it is voluntary for everyone else. The reasoning behind the National Service is simple: "poverty, ignorance and disease" are the nation's greatest enemy; to fight them an "army" is needed; other countries have a draft, why not Tanzania?

Students spend a total of 24 months in National Service: three months in military training and the rest of the time at work camps, learning trades, developing self-reliance, and working on agricultural projects. If a student finds a job after graduation, he serves his three-month military tour, returns to his job for 18 months (but must turn over half his salary to the government), and then returns to National Service for a final three months' "refresher."

Despite this flexible system, some students at the University College resisted the idea of compulsory service and went on strike in 1966, displaying what the government thought was an elitist attitude. As an observer wrote: "Though they would still be earning many times the average per capita

income [$70 at that time], and despite the fact that their education, the passkey to relative affluence, had been paid for by the Tanzanian government, the students protested. Nyerere sent more than 300 of them home, half the student body, to work on their fathers' *shambas* and learn a little humility."

The first part of the following selection is a letter to *Reporter* Magazine (Nairobi) in which a college student explains his reason for protesting compulsory National Service. The second part is an updated report on the progress of National Service, and the third is a minor but interesting debate on one of the "social" by-products of compulsory training.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

How justified do you think the student protests were?

Should women have to serve, even in the military?]

STUDENT RESISTANCE*

Letter to the Editor

October 21, 1966

Sir:

I would like to add to the many opinions which have been expressed against the new National Service in Tanzania, even though all such words amount to nothing but a vociferous barking at the moon. It has become a tradition for government plans to race through parliament into acts, and our M.P.'s [members of parliament] have once more lived up to their record of rubber-stamping all government proposals by passing the National Service one.

The objectives of the National Service, as spelled out by

* *Reporter* Magazine, Nairobi, Kenya, 1966.

the President, are to provide a training ground for discipline, responsibility and leadership among the citizen youths of the country. There would be few bitter and pent-up feelings if this in fact was what the planners honestly sought to inculcate in the two-year period. . . .

Many speeches have been made by politicians about students. The theme can be broken down to the following premises: students are a luxury-loving lot who financially drain the taxpayer; the taxpayer has nothing to gain from the education his money provides; therefore, the student must in turn be forced to sacrifice for the good of the taxpayer.

This fallacious belief blindfolded our M.P.'s from the realistic facts about scholarship. Those who have tasted the classrooms of secondary education know that to reach Form VI [grade 13] and above requires both innate intelligence and a measure of mature self-discipline to sit down and concentrate and postpone a host of desires (*e.g.*, marriage) for the sake of education. . . .

Even if one were to dismiss the claim that students are at the forefront of the fight against the biggest of the national enemies, ignorance, one cannot make a tenable claim that society gains nothing by educating a teacher, a social worker, a doctor.

In a socialist country like ours, where the government has made it its duty to provide social services, it becomes the responsibility of the taxpayer to provide the professionally qualified people to give the hospital care. The government or taxpayer makes sacrifices for education because they need the services of the educated.

Some of the reasons to justify this scheme are on the brink of absurdity. Since only a tiny fraction of the population in Tanzania is urban, most of the present indigenous school-

and university-leavers were raised on the *shambas,* where they used their hands for upwards of five years. It beggars reason to state that two or three months of compulsory farm work to a graduate raised on a *shamba* can be a good reminder and teacher of the importance of agriculture.

If I am ever unfortunate enough to undergo this scheme, those two years may well be the most frustrating in my life. At [age] thirty, in uniform for eighteen months, with 60 per cent of my salary slashed off, I may occupy an office table adjacent to a twenty-five-year-old schoolmate who is not affected by the scheme. I shall thus be discriminately affected because there exists a warped philosophy that considers students to be parasites of society.

The scheme will barely touch what it claims to teach, so that if I am undisciplined now I shall come out as I went in, only more frustrated and angrier. Finally, if I am compelled to accept this degree of frustration, it will be because so far I cannot see how to make myself thirty-five years old by the time I walk beyond the gates of my educational institution.

S. J. Nkinda
Kampala, Uganda

PROGRESS REPORT*

President Nyerere of Tanzania once remarked that "a nation whose youths are weak, despondent, lacking in initiative, and without a purpose in life cannot forge ahead." His statement, intended to drive his country's youth to greater achievement, has had a more far-reaching effect than, perhaps, even the President intended.

* *Reporter* Magazine, Nairobi, Kenya, August 8, 1969.

In Tanzania and, for that matter, in any East African country today, a "youth" can be aged anything from ten to about fifty. There are great hulking "schoolboys" in their early twenties, and "youth" seems to be more a state of mind than a mere counting of years.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Tanzania National Service, which was launched in July, 1963, has attracted Tanzanians of all ages and from all strata of society.

Aims

The stated aims of the National Service were, and are, "To unite all Tanzania youths irrespective of race, color, creed, religion, or education; to guide them in understanding their national policies, and to arouse their patriotism. To prepare the Tanzania youths to build their efforts and for the defense of the nation."

The TANU Youth League put in eleven recruits for starters, more youths joined voluntarily, and then it was noted that most of the joiners were the uneducated youths.

This, the government announced, gave rise to a misconception that the National Service was for the uneducated and unemployed. To correct this, it brought in compulsory service, in 1966, for high school graduates, university graduates, non-graduates who had studied at any university, and graduates of certain professional institutions such as teacher-training colleges and the College of Business Education.

Objections

Many of the university students liked this not at all. They struck against it, complaining that they could do more with

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President Nyerere, dressed in his National Youth Service uniform, leads the way to a nation-building project.

their education than waste their talents for a couple of years on nation-building projects. Their revolt resulted in their being expelled from educational institutions, their academic careers ended.

This tough government action had the desired effect. A recent government statement said that since the first recruits under the Compulsory Act enlisted, on April 1, 1967, to June of this year [1969], 6,503 youths were enlisted in the

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service, including 5,220 who have now completed their two-year stint.

In addition, some 750 "adults" have voluntarily joined the National Service, no doubt to emphasize their solidarity with the nation's youths, and have completed the tough basic-training course.

These have included the second Vice-President, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, and a number of portly ministers and TANU leaders.

Thus inspired, the service is going from strength to strength. There are now five National Service "schools." . . . Tanzania also has eleven youth camps. . . . And it has been announced that at least one camp will be opened in each region of Tanzania.

Instruction

The "basic training" includes instruction in the use of firearms, in discipline, in politics, and in national polices. They learn about political history, the "economics of independence," agriculture, their cultural heritage, the Swahili language, and socialism.

They till the land and grow crops. They build houses, roads, and dams, and they help villagers with a lot of hard work on self-help projects.

One interesting aspect of the Tanzania National Service is the women's wing, where girls who a few years ago would be veiled with black *buibuis,* creeping around barefoot and pregnant in the kitchen, now find themselves clomping around in army boots, learning to drill with and fire rifles, and proving themselves as tough and determined as the next man, or woman.

Targets

The National Service has set itself targets within Tanzania's second Five-Year Development Plan. It plans to train 60,000 youths by the end of this period.

One of its ambitious projects is to set up a vocational training center at each camp where servicemen may be trained in trades which will help them when they return to their villages.

Of late the service has begun enlisting in its ranks people from the less developed tribes, such as the Masai, the Mang'ati, and the Watindiga.

Most of the 228 Masai graduates to date have been recruited in the Police Force, to serve in stock theft-prevention units.

But all this is apparently only the beginning. A recent Ministry of Information feature article on the National Service concluded: "However, with the expanding program (and when the time comes for all youths to join), Tanzanian youths will be seen ever too ready to enlist and carry out the directives of the leader, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and prove to the world that the Tanzania youth is the growing man of the new Africa."

And there are few who will argue with this.

WOMEN SOLDIERS*

Letters to the Editor

August 22, 1969

Sir: I was surprised to read in *Reporter* (August 8th) that in Tanzania they are training our beautiful women to march, to fight, and fire guns. This is a very bad thing to do.

* *Reporter* Magazine, Nairobi, Kenya, 1969.

If our government wants soldiers, there are many thousands of unemployed who would gladly join the army and serve the country.

By this I mean unemployed men. Women are not meant to be soldiers. They are not built for it. If they want to keep fit, they can keep fit without practicing shooting people.

Why should we spoil them with all this nonsense? I personally admire a woman who is feminine, graceful, and beautiful. But I fail to see how they can maintain any of these qualities if as you said in your interesting article on the Tanzanian National Youth Service, they are now "clomping around in army boots."

Keep our women feminine.

R. V. Patel
Nairobi

Replies

September 19, 1969

Sir:

Mr. Patel's letter on the subject of women soldiers (*Reporter* of August 22) is quite misleading. It cannot really go unopposed.

I am not sure whether Mr. Patel believes in equal rights for both men and women. Judging from his uncertain arguments on the matter, I have little hope that he really does. Or else to Mr. Patel equal rights simply allow women to play only on the clean side of the ditch and not to set a foot on the other untidy part, however much their service may be required by the nation. . . .

You [Mr. Patel] are partially right to claim that your women should be kept feminine, but then you tend to forget

Women soldiers, part of the National Service, march past the presidential box in National Stadium, Dar es Salaam, in a parade commemorating April 26, 1964, the day Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

that none of them has actually been turned masculine—after all, naturally that is not even possible.

It is the duty of every capable citizen to prepare and be ready to defend his or her country.

Kawegere Fortunatus
Bukoba

September 19, 1969

Sir:

. . . what Mr. Patel does not seem to have grasped is that many of the women of Tanzania, and of all East Africa for that matter, are stronger than men. I am not talking about

those suppressed women of the coast. I am talking about the upcountry wives of farmers and their daughters.

All their lives they have been doing the hardest work of the land—digging the ground, tending the coffee and other crops, chopping the wood, fetching and carrying for the family, as well as running their homes. Many of our men, I am sorry to say, consider the man's place in life to be the master of the house, lying about doing nothing while his wife, or wives, do all the work.

So I ask—who is best fitted to do the job of defending the country, the lazy men or the hard-working, industrious women?

It may be different in Mr. Patel's community. I don't know. But I know what conditions are like in mine. The only thing the women need is a little spirit of determination, and a little hardness in their outlook, and then there is nothing they cannot do better than the men.

Rachel
Moshi

September 19, 1969

Sir:

Your letter from Mr. Patel . . . can in my opinion . . . be dismissed as colonialist claptrap. The women of Tanzania are only too happy to cast aside their veils and work shoulder to shoulder with the men in building a nation.

And I should point out that if we had not been emancipated I would not now be writing this letter. . . .

As I now hold a position in government, I must sign myself,

New Tanzanian
Dar es Salaam

TANU: One-Party Democracy

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Democracy, from a Western point of view, implies the existence of opposing political parties. But different social and economic conditions produce different forms of democracy.

In the West, the preservation of personal property and free enterprise has been an historical concern. People have been concerned with freedom *from* interference with their property, their right to start a business, and so forth. In developing nations the concern is more with the freedom *to* —to have enough to eat, to go to school, to work. The government that can produce these essentials of a full life is indeed bringing freedom to its people. Where a Westerner might say, "The government that governs least governs best," a non-Westerner might say, "The government that *does* most does best."

About 30 of Africa's 38 nations are ruled by either a one-party government, the army, or a monarch. Much of this "unity" comes from the fight against colonial rule, which in most cases produced a single independence party that represented the entire country. After independence, the people continued to support this party for the sake of creating a unified effort for nation-building. Ironically, an opposition party, if it destroyed this unity, would actually work *against* freedom.

The motto on the Tanzanian coat of arms is *"Uhura na Umoja,"* "Freedom and Unity." TANU, the sole political party in the country, provides this unity. No other party has ever succeeded in winning a seat in any election. This does not mean, however, that competition is absent. As a magazine described the 1965 general elections: "TANU had put up two candidates for every seat except those held by six top party officials. TANU gave each opponent equal support, paired them off in daily joint appearances and assigned three referees to supervise each match. Then the party stood aside and let the candidates fight it out."

The following selection deals with one-party democracy in Tanzania. In the first part, President Nyerere explains his views on the subject. The second part presents a debate on the pros and cons of TANU's rule, and the third part consists of the TANU pledge and the Tanzanian national anthem.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

How does Nyerere explain the development of the two-party system in the West?

How does he justify one-party democracy in Africa?]

THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS*

The African concept of democracy is similar to that of the ancient Greeks from whose language the word "democracy" originated. To the Greeks, democracy meant simply "government by discussion among equals." The people discussed, and when they reached agreement, the result was a "people's decision."

* President Julius K. Nyerere, "One-Party Government," *Transition*, December, 1961.

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Mr. Guy Clutton Brock, writing about Nyasaland, describes traditional African democracy: "The elders sit under the big tree and talk until they agree." This "talking until you agree" is the essential of the traditional African concept of democracy.

To minds molded by Western parliamentary tradition and Western concepts of democratic institutions, the idea of an organized opposition group has become so familiar that its absence immediately raises the cry of "dictatorship." It is no good telling them that when a group of one hundred equals have sat and talked together until they agreed where to dig a well (and "until they agreed" implies that they will have produced many conflicting arguments before they did eventually agree), they have practiced democracy. Proponents of Western parliamentary traditions will consider whether the opposition was organized and therefore automatic, or whether it was spontaneous and therefore free. Only if it was automatic will they concede that here was democracy!

Basically, democracy is government by discussion as opposed to government by force, and by discussion between the people or their chosen representatives as opposed to a hereditary clique. Under the tribal system, whether there was a chief or not, African society was a society of equals, and it conducted its business by discussion.

It is true that this "pure democracy"—the totally unorganized "talking until you agree"—can no longer be adequate; it is too clumsy a way of conducting the affairs of a large modern state. But the need to organize the "government by discussion" does not necessarily imply the need to organize an opposition group as part of the system.

I am not arguing that the two-party system is not democratic. I am only saying it is only one form which democracy

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happens to have taken in certain countries, and that it is by no means essential. I am sure that even my friends in the Labor party or the Conservative party in Britain would admit that if their party could succeed in winning all the seats, they would be perfectly happy to form a one-party government. They, the winning party that is, would not be likely to suspect themselves of having suddenly turned Britain into a dictatorship!

Some of us have been over-ready to swallow unquestioningly the proposition that you cannot have democracy unless you have a second party to oppose the party in power. But, however difficult our friends in Britain and America may find it to accept what to them is a new idea—that democracy can exist where there is no formal opposition—I think we in Africa should think very carefully before we abandon our traditional attitude.

It is often overlooked that the Anglo-Saxon tradition of a two-party system is a reflection of the society in which it evolved. Within that society there was a struggle between the "haves" and the "have-nots"—each of whom organized themselves into political parties, one party associated with wealth and the status quo and the other with the masses of the people and change. Thus the existence of distinct classes in a society and the struggle between them resulted in the growth of the two-party system. But need this be accepted as the essential and only pattern of democracy?

With rare exceptions, the idea of class is something entirely foreign to Africa. Here, in this continent, the nationalist movements are fighting a battle for freedom from *foreign* domination, not from domination by any ruling class of our own. To us "the other party" is the colonial power. In many parts of Africa this struggle has been won; in others it is still

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going on. But everywhere the people who fight the battle are not former overlords wanting to re-establish a lost authority; they are not a rich mercantile class whose freedom to exploit the masses is being limited by the colonial powers; they are the common people of Africa.

Thus once the foreign power—the other party—has been expelled, there is no ready-made division, and it is by no means certain that democracy will adopt the same machinery and symbols as the Anglo-Saxon. Nor indeed is it necessarily desirable that it should be so.

New nations like Tanzania are emerging into independence as a result of a struggle for freedom from colonialism. It is a patriotic struggle which leaves no room for differences, and which unites all elements in the country; and the nationalist movements—having united the people and led them to freedom—must inevitably form the first government of the new states. Once the first free government is formed, its supreme task lies ahead—the building up of the country's economy so as to raise the living standards of the people, the eradication of disease, and the banishment of ignorance and superstition. This, no less than the struggle against colonialism, calls for the maximum united effort by the whole country if it is to succeed. *There can be no room for differences or division.*

In Western democracies it is an accepted practice that in times of emergency opposition parties submerge their differences and join together in forming a national government. This is our time of emergency, and until our war against poverty, ignorance, and disease has been won we should not let our unity be destroyed by a desire to follow somebody else's book of rules.

* * *

To the demands of the common man in Africa, intensified as they are by the vivid contrast between his own lot and that of others in more developed countries, add the lack of means at the disposal of the African governments to meet these demands, the lack of men, the lack of money—above all, the lack of time. To all this add the very nature of the new countries themselves. They are usually countries without natural unity. Their boundaries enclose those artificial units carved out of Africa by grabbing colonial powers without any consideration of ethnic groups or geographical realities, so that these countries now include within their borders tribal groups which, until the coming of the European powers, had never been under one government. To those, in the case of East and Central Africa, you must add the new tribes from Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. Here are divisions enough to pose a truly formidable task in nation-building.

As if the natural challenge was not enough, with the raising of each new flag come the intrigues of the international diplomacy of rivalry and all that goes with it; the cynical and the criminal attempts by powerful foreign governments to weaken the unity of any country whose government pursues policies which they do not like. Who does not know that foreign nations have again and again poured in money to back up any stooge who will dance to their political tune? As their sole purpose is to confuse the people and weaken the legal government for their own ends, they are quite indifferent to the fact that their chosen puppets have no following at all in the country itself.

It should be obvious, then, why the governments of these new countries must treat the situation as one of national emergency, comparable almost to that of a country at war. In the early days of nation-building, as in time of war, the

opposition, if any, must act even more responsibly than an opposition in a more developed and more stable, a more unified and a better equipped, country in times of peace. Given such a responsible opposition, I would be the first person to defend its right. But where is it? Too often the only voices to be heard in opposition are those of a few irresponsible individuals who exploit the very privileges of democracy—freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom to criticize—in order to deflect the government from its responsibilities to the people by creating problems of law and order.

The admitted function of any political opposition is to try to persuade the electorate to reject the existing government at the next election. This is reasonable in the case of a responsible opposition with a definite alternative policy in which its members sincerely believe; but that sort of mature opposition is rare indeed in a newly independent state. Usually the irresponsible individuals I have mentioned have neither sincerity, conviction, nor any policy at all save that of self-aggrandizement. They merely employ the catch phrases copied from the political language of older, stable countries in order to engage the sympathy of the unthinking for their destructive tactics. Nor are the tactics they use those of a responsible democratic opposition. In such circumstances the government must deal firmly and promptly with the troublemakers. The country cannot afford, during these vital early years of its life, to treat such people with the same degree of tolerance which may be safely allowed in a long-established democracy.

To those who wonder if democracy can survive in Africa, my own answer, then, would be that, far from its being an alien idea, democracy has long been familiar to the African. There is nothing in our traditional attitude toward discussion and our current dedication to human rights to justify the

claim that democracy is in danger in Africa. I see exactly the opposite; the principles of our nationalist struggles for human dignity, augmented, as it were, by our national attitude toward discussion, should augur well for democracy in Africa.

A DEBATE*

Letters to the Editor

September 19, 1969

Sir:

Dr. Julius Nyerere, the first President of the Republic of Tanzania, struggled hard to free Tanzanians from colonial rule.

With others in his team, he did even now what is remarkable in the history of Tanzania and the world. But then there is a question. Would Mwalimu become the President of Tanzania again after the forthcoming elections?

As we all know, the presidential elections will be held in our country in the middle of 1970. Although Tanzania claims to be a one-party state, and indeed we are, party machinery does not work properly.

There should be another party in the country. Otherwise, I feel, the so-called democracy of choice and discussion is obviously a danger to this government.

Tanzania has many politicians, some of them well qualified to stand for the presidency. Oscar Kambona [formerly a minister and TANU's secretary-general] and others should be invited to take part. We still recognize Kambona as a full Tanzanian.

We all want and expect presidential elections to be conducted through regions, by selecting two candidates for this

* *Reporter* Magazine, Nairobi, Kenya, 1969.

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important thing—the right to vote. This should equally apply to the Zanzibar government.

B. J. T. Tamwesigire
Bukoba

Replies

October 17, 1969

Sir:

I condemn Mr. J. T. Tamwesigire's letter (*Reporter*, September 19). He claims that the one-party machinery does not work properly and that "the so-called democracy of choice and discussion is obviously a danger to the government," going on to demand another political party.

Can he please elaborate on the "danger" he sees facing the TANU government? This government, like any other democratic government, is for the people and by the people. Thus, the people have adopted a one-party system, which suits their national culture.

The colonialists used tribal disunity in Tanzania as a means of extending their powers. By his demand for a second party, Mr. Tamwesigire is calling for disunity in our nation. . . .

He also calls for Mr. Oscar Kambona to stand for presidential election. This is fantastic. How can such a man, who ran away from the people, after failing to reconcile his views on the Arusha Declaration with theirs, run for presidential office?

I wonder why Mr. Tamwesigire thought of writing the letter to the *Reporter* only, without writing to the press in Tanzania. This is fear, for he has no doubt that he is wrong.

Jared J. Jeremiah
Mwanza

Sir:

. . Mr. Tamwesigire should have used "I" instead of "we." Did he travel throughout Tanzania and gather his opinions from the twelve million people?

He wants the coming presidential elections to be conducted first through regions and then a few of those elected to compete on a national level. Events in the Congo, Katanga, Biafra, and Nigeria, all of which are based on regions, show that the consequence of such action is bloodshed.

The colonialists divided us in order to dehumanize and colonialize us. We condemned and denounced colonialism, which separated us, in order to become an independent state. . . .

If Mr. Tamwesigire's fellow-politicians are real patriots, they should join the party and show by their actions what is to be done for the development of our nation. . . .

Remember, freedom without discipline is anarchy.

Omari Byabato
Faustine Kamaleki
Morogoro

Sir:

. . . Mr. Tamwesigire should know that the one-party state in Tanzania was not imposed on the people by force but was the choice of the people whose feelings were sounded by the 1962 Presidential Commission.

J. R. Pangani
Musoma

The Tanzanian Coat of Arms, shown above, was designed in 1964 after Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined to become the United Republic of Tanzania. The motto of the Republic is "Uhuru na Umoja"—"*Freedom and Unity.*"

The shield, which stands on a representation of Mount Kilimanjaro, contains several symbols. The flame at the top signifies freedom, enlightenment, and knowledge. The yellow background represents the mineral wealth of the country. Beneath the flame is the Tanzanian flag, which is green at the top left, blue at the bottom right, and has a black stripe running through the middle with yellow stripes on each side. The spear signifies defense. The crossed axe and hoe on a background of red (representing the red soil of Africa) are the tools used by the people to cultivate the land. The wavy bands, blue on a white background, stand for the land, sea, lakes, and coastal area of the republic.

The man and woman each hold an elephant tusk, symbolizing the abundant wildlife of Tanzania. At the man's feet is a clove bush, the major product of Zanzibar, and at the woman's feet is a cotton bush, one of the major products of Tanganyika, emphasizing once again the theme of the unity of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

TANU PARTY PLEDGE

I believe in the universal brotherhood of man and in the Unity of Africa.

I shall faithfully serve my country and its people.

I shall apply all my efforts toward the elimination of poverty, disease, ignorance, and corruption.

Corruption perverts justice; I shall neither offer nor accept bribes.

I shall never use my official position nor that of another person for my personal gain or private benefit.

I shall make available to the people of this country my knowledge and skill, which I shall constantly strive to advance.

I shall actively take part in the building of the Nation.

I shall always tell the truth and shall never bear any grudges against anybody.

I shall be a faithful member of TANU and a good citizen of Tanzania and Africa.

I shall be loyal to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Mungu ibariki Afrika	God bless Africa
Wabariki Viongozi wake	Bless its leaders
Hekima Umoja na Amani	Let Wisdom, Unity, and
Hizi ni ngao zeto	Peace be the shield of
Afrika na watu wake.	Africa and its people.
Ibariki A-frika	Bless Africa
Ibariki A-frika	Bless Africa
Tubariki Watoto wa Afrika.	Bless the children of Africa.

Mungu ibariki Tanzania
Dumisha Uhuru na Umoja
Wake Kwa Waume na
Watoto.
Mungu ibariki
Tanzania na watu wake
Ibariki Tanzania
Ibariki Tanzania
Tubariki Watoto wa
Tanzania.

God bless Tanzania
Grant eternal Freedom and
Unity to its sons and
daughters.
God bless Tanzania
and its people.
Bless Tanzania
Bless Tanzania
Bless the children of
Tanzania.

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Cultural Revolution

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: National unity requires cultural unity. If outside forces tend to erode this cultural base, then national development is impeded, according to the thinking of most African leaders.

The most pervasive outside influence comes from the West. In the past, it created what were known as "black Europeans." Today it produces young boys with guitars and hip-hugging trousers, young girls in miniskirts, and student hangouts with rock music. African leaders are alarmed, and in Tanzania they are doing something about it.

The following selection deals with Tanzania's attempt to preserve its own cultural traditions and thereby unify the country. The first part of the reading is an excerpt from a speech by President Nyerere. The other two parts are journalistic accounts of recent "cultural" activities in Tanzania.

As you read this selection, think of this question:

What is the danger in urbanized youth following Western styles?

THE *GOMBE SUGU**

. . . The major change I have made is to set up an entirely new ministry: the Ministry of National Culture and Youth. I have done this because I believe that its culture is the essence and spirit of any nation. A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation.

Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own, or that what we did have was worthless, something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride. Some of us, particularly those of us who had acquired a European type of education, set ourselves out to prove to our colonial rulers that we had become "civilized"; and by that we meant that we had abandoned everything connected with our own past and learned to imitate only European ways. Our young men's ambition was not to become well-educated Africans, but to become "black Europeans."

When we were at school we were taught to sing the songs of the Europeans. How many of us were taught the songs of the Wanyamwezi or of the Wahehe? Many of us have learned to dance the "rhumba" or the "chachacha," to "rock 'n' roll" and to "twist," and even to dance the "waltz" and the "foxtrot." But how many of us can dance, or have even heard of the *gombe sugu*, the *mangala*, the *konge, nyang'umui, kiduo,* or *lele mama*?

Lots of us can play the guitar, the piano, or other European musical instruments. How many Africans in Tanganyika, particularly among the educated, can play the African drums?

* President Julius K. Nyerere, President's Address, December 10, 1962.

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How many can play the *nanga*, or the *zeze* or the *marimba*, the *kilanzi*, *ligombo*, or the *imangala*?

And even though we dance and play the piano, how often does that dancing—even if it is "rock 'n' roll" or "twist"—how often does it really give us the sort of thrill we get from dancing the *mganda* or the *gombe sugu*—even though the music may be no more than the shaking of pebbles in a tin? It is hard for anyone to get much real excitement from dances and music which are not in his own blood. . . .

THE GREEN GUARD*

. . . In Tanzania, Operation *Vijana* got under way at midnight when patrols of "Green Guards" started out to clear the country of miniskirts, wigs, skin bleaches, hair straighteners, and trousers that hug hips or are very tight or have bell bottoms or are fitted with wide belts.

"Tanzanian youths must do away with these obscene foreign influences," insisted Joseph Nyerere, Secretary General of Tanzania's Youth League.

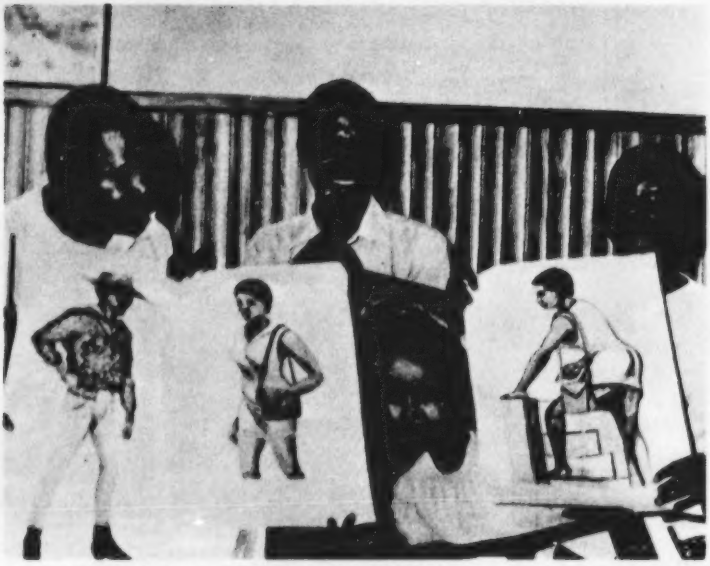
His brother, President Julius Nyerere, calls the league "Green Guards," who will lead the country's cultural revolution.

Swahili Word Is Used

Vijana is the Swahili word for youths.

"Youths in Europe are frustrated," Joseph Nyerere said two days ago at a rally in the national stadium at Dar es Salaam.

* Lawrence Fellows, "Tanzania Begins a Cultural Revolution . . . ," *The New York Times*, January 2, 1969. © 1969 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.



Members of the TANU Youth League display posters showing some of the fashions that have been banned under Tanzania's cultural revolution. The Green Guards have vowed to bring Tanzanian youth back to traditional dress and culture and have established a "miniskirt" patrol. Joseph Nyerere, the President's brother and leader of the Youth League, is in the center.

"Now we seem to want to imitate the way they behave, even the way they smile. We will eradicate such illusions. Our youths will not be strangers in their own country."

The guards seem to have taken the campaign seriously, for 500 who roamed through Dar es Salaam today reported no incidents. From Tanga it was reported that eleven young women who frequent bars in that port on the Indian Ocean burned their miniskirts before a big crowd this morning and vowed to oppose all alien cultural trends.

The Green Guards had been given two months of intensive police training. There was still no word today about whether

any allowances would be made for tourists who violate the new rules. . . .

"SAVE OUR SOULS"*

Worried by the effect of "soul" music on Dar es Salaam's teenagers (and, reportedly, sub-teenagers), Coast Regional Commissioner Mr. Songambele has ordered that "soul" be banned in Tanzania's swinging capital.

First reaction was that this was easier said than done. With no indication of how he proposed to implement the ban—which appeared to have been inspired by personal dislike of this currently popular manifestation of pop art—Mr. Songambele incurred a gentle rebuke from *The Standard* in an editorial which said, "This, surely, is a case of hasty action overlooking the possible consequences.

"It is always undesirable to interfere with the public's freedom of choice, and—if the Coast Regional Commissioner is a cardplayer—he may come to realize that he has played his ace before anyone has nominated trumps."

The Standard agreed with Mr. Songambele that "soul" music was rather less pure and uplifting than its name suggested: that it was an invitation to decadence and the worst type of Afro-American importation, owing nothing to the spiritualist origins of the Deep South plantation music but a "good (or bad) deal to the pot-and-hippy era" in which Black Power was paraded as the talisman [charm] for the ultrapermissive society.

Nevertheless, *The Standard* maintained, if "soul music" was as decadent as it was claimed to be, then it should be

* *Reporter* Magazine, Nairobi, Kenya, November 28, 1969.

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banned on a national level. Piecemeal attempts to control public morals could never succeed.

Slightly [taken aback] by its rival's support of the ban (despite its criticism of the method), *The Nationalist* [official paper of TANU] * a day later praised Mr. Songambele as a brave man and suggested that it was the imperialists who had been "very keen to import this cancerous ulcer into our country, to try and stuff Tanzania's youth with a passive approach to life."

"Soul digging," said *The Nationalist*, "is the worst kind of deception, dupery, stultification, and corruption of the youth. It must go."

* Until recently, *The Standard* and *The Nationalist* were competing daily English-language newspapers in Dar es Salaam. *The Standard*, established during colonial days and owned by Rhodesians and South Africans, had the reputation of being "European-slanted," while *The Nationalist*, owned by the Tanzanian government, followed the party line of TANU. Early in 1970 the government took over *The Standard*, reasoning that outsiders should not control important internal news media. *The Standard* is now the official government newspaper.

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*America Go Home**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: Tanzania was the first nation in Africa to receive American Peace Corps volunteers. The first contingent arrived in mid-1961, even before independence in December, 1961. At one point since then there were as many as 400 volunteers in Tanzania. Today there are none. And Tanzania is the eighth country in the world to send the Peace Corps home. Why?

The reasons for the divorce have never been made public by either government, but observers feel that three major factors led to the split. First, most Peace Corps volunteers in Tanzania were involved in education, and many Tanzanians —even those who were friendly to the United States—felt that children of capitalism could not further the cause of socialism.

Secondly, most of these teachers worked in primary schools, and when President Nyerere called for revolutionary change in early education to prepare students for the land, (rather than only for secondary schools), the usefulness of American teachers declined.

Thirdly, there had always been opposition to the Peace Corps from certain segments of the Tanzanian leadership.

* Leonard Levitt, *An African Season*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966, pp. 137 – 40. Copyright © 1966, 1967 by Leonard Levitt. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc. and the Sterling Lord Agency.

President Nyerere's brother Joseph, Secretary General of Tanzania's Youth League, denounced the Peace Corps shortly after the volunteers arrived. In a speech before the National Assembly, he said, "What use is the Peace Corps if America is going to blow up the world? If America goes on with nuclear weapons, she should take back the Peace Corps." Another member of Parliament said. "These people are not here for peace. They are here for trouble."

An American Peace Corps volunteer, one of the last to leave Tanzania, said: "I was very sorry to leave Tanzania as I was in complete sympathy with her socialist goals and policy of non-alignment. I also enjoyed the work there because education was on the move. But Tanzania felt that Americans were probably not going to be very helpful in guiding a socialist country through education, so they terminated our work. The Vietnam war had a lot to do with their decision, I'm afraid."

In the following selection, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Tanzania describes his personal experience with an anti-American rally, held to protest the United States military intervention in the Congo in November, 1964. Belgian and American paratroopers evacuated 1,900 Europeans being held as hostages. The Americans called the move a "rescue mission." The Tanzanians call it "military aggression." They also accused the Americans of plotting the overthrow of the Tanzanian government.

As you read this selection, think of these questions:

How did the Tanzanians perceive the Peace Corps boys in this story?

Why do you think the Tanzanians made a distinction between the American people and the American government?
How valid is this distinction?]

We hadn't thought anything of the demonstrations at first. Just something we had read in the paper about some students in Dar es Salaam marching on the [American] Embassy and that more demonstrations were expected throughout the country. Then hearing on the radio about Tshombe, former Premier of the Congo, and American imperialism, American militarists massacring Africans. And Mr. Kambona, the Foreign Minister, revealing a letter that "proved" the American government together with the South African and Portuguese governments were plotting to overthrow the government of Tanganyika.

Soon some of the local TANU officials began stopping at the school, speaking to the boys about the Congo and the Plot. And they would say to us, Mike and me, personally we were very good people, we had helped them very much, but they didn't know about our government. That Mr. Lyndon [President Johnson], he was very fierce. Then they would start about the Congo and Tshombe, American imperialists murdering their African brothers. And the Plot, America conspiring with Tanganyika's enemies.

But the Plot has not been proved, I said. Mr. Kambona refuses to reveal where he received the letter from.*

No matter, they would say, laughing and shaking their heads. These are *mambo ya siasa*—political matters—and we ordinary people cannot be expected to understand them the way our leaders do. You both are very good, but your government is very bad, and they would laugh and slap palms [a sign of friendship].

* This refers to a document allegedly circulated by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that indicated America's intention to help overthrow the Tanzanian government. The CIA denied the charge and claimed that the document was forged. Later, the Tanzanian government discovered that the document was indeed forged.

YOU BLIND AMERICAN PORTUGAL
SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA WITH YOUR
GOVERNMENTS THE SIN YOU HAVE
COMMITTED IS VERY GREAT
WE SHALL NEVER

This demonstration in Dar es Salaam protests American intervention in the Congo in 1964. Resentment toward the whites who control large areas of southern Africa is also widespread in Tanzania.

On Saturday in Tukuyu [western Tanzania] I bumped into Martin Martinson [an English tea planter]. Had we heard what his tea workers were saying about us? That we were spies, Mike and I, that was why we had come to Tanganyika. That was the reason we were so friendly and drank *pombe* [local beer] with them . . . to learn their secrets. I could just picture them sitting over their bowls, nodding their heads in between sips. Mmmm, spies, yes. Taking another long gulp. Mmmm, spies.

And I couldn't help thinking about the things you read at home, Communist agitators trying to stir up trouble for Americans. Was it happening right here in Tukuyu? Except that there were no Communists here, probably no one knew what a Communist was. Not even the one who had begun these spy rumors, whoever he was.

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One afternoon we awoke from an afternoon nap and found the whole school gone. I mean no one was there. No students. No teachers. We walked up the road to some of the villagers who were sitting outside their huts. *Mandamano,* Tukuyu, they said. A demonstration in Tukuyu. That's where they all had gone.

A demonstration in Tukuyu. An anti-American demonstration. That's what it must be. That was why no one had told us about it. That was why the Twak [nickname for the Headmaster] had just packed up the school and pulled them all into Tukuyu while we were sleeping. So we wouldn't find out about it.

Still, it wasn't too late. It might be very interesting. We could walk to Ushirika, maybe a car would be passing.

Sure enough, as we arrived a car passed. A big one, with two men inside. We waved it down and it was our friend Mr. Mapunds, the local TANU chairman, and another man whom I didn't know. They were both wearing those long robes that they wore at ceremonies.

"We're going to the *mandamano,*" they said. Why weren't we there already?

"Missed our ride," we said, as we jumped in the back.

We began talking about school. The other man told me that his son was in my class, Lufingo Moumulu. "Oh, Lufingo," I said, "Are you Lufingo's father?" The man nodded his head and smiled. Then they said that they knew how hard we were working at Ndumulu and that they were very pleased we had come here to Tanganyika. We were helping them very much.

Soon we were in Tukuyu, everyone marching up and down with their bands blaring. Judging by the size, it seemed like

a very important *mandamano*. Then we noticed a special line of people walking down the middle of the street, everyone stepping back out of their way. There at the head was Mr. Mapunda, with Mr. Mbumulu and some other officials, all the bigwigs and government officials; there were Moses, Simon, and Hebron. And Medson. They were all carrying signs and waving. Now they saw us, Hebron and Medson, they were calling to us, smiling, "*Karibu, karibu*" [a Swahili greeting meaning "welcome" or "come and join the party"] and Mr. Mapunda was motioning toward us, they wanted us to join them in the march.

We started forward but Mike stopped me in my tracks, pointing to the signs that they were all carrying. What they said was AMERICA GO HOME. AMERICAN SPIES. AMERICAN IMPERIALSTS. TSHOMBE AMERICAN STOOGE. These demonstrators, our friends, they were demonstrating against us.

So we just stayed on the side of the street, waving to them as they passed, and let ourselves be pushed over to the field where a platform had been assembled.

The first speaker came up to speak, it was Mr. Mbumulu. *Uhuru* [Freedom], and the crowd, *Uhuru*. Then speaking in short, quick Swahili, as though he were very angry, so quickly that I couldn't catch what he was saying. Only a few words, "Tshombe, America, spies."

Then the next one, *Uhuru*. The crowd roaring back, *Uhuru*. About America again, this time not so quickly, so I could understand him. That America wanted to capture Tanganyika, they must be very careful . . . as the crowd roared its approval.

The next speaker was Mr. Mapunda. American spies, they were all around us, they were trying to learn our secrets. We

must be very careful, we must look for them everywhere, they are right among us. And the crowd started turning their heads, looking to see if there were any spies among them.

Involuntarily I turned my head too, looking across all the black faces. Suddenly I realized that we were the only white people there, Mike and I. That when they had been talking, about spies and being careful, they meant us.

Then another one was talking, just really summing up what the others had said. And finally bellowing to the crowd, "And what should be done to these American spies when we catch them?" And the crowd roaring back, "*Tuwafukuze nyumbani*"—"We should chase them back home." And with that a great roar went up, and the speakers raced off the platform, the crowd sweeping behind them. And they were heading toward us.

And somehow I couldn't believe that it was really happening, it couldn't really be true. It seemed so fantastic, our friends, Simon and Medson, Mr. Mepunda and Mr. Mbumulu, who had given us the ride today, saying how much they appreciated our being here, how we were helping them very much. And they were the ones who had made these speeches, who had inflamed all the crowd. They were walking toward us now. And I was thinking, My God, we are going to be attacked.

But we weren't attacked. The first one to reach us was Mr. Mapunda, who said he wanted us to understand that what they were saying had nothing to do with us, Mike or me. We were their friends, they all knew that. It was the government they were against. They were the spies. Not us. They all greatly appreciated what we were doing at Ndumulu, they knew how hard we were working, and how much we were trying to help them.

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And me standing there with my mouth falling open, trying to understand what he was saying. Not knowing what to say, just feeling shaky all over as though I was suddenly going to burst out laughing or crying. I wasn't sure which. Trying to understand it, to understand that they felt we were really their friends, not their enemies. To understand that there were two Americans here—probably the only Americans they had ever known or seen—but that somehow, because they all knew us and liked us, we could not *really* be Americans. That we and Americans were two different things. . . .

*Speech at the United Nations**

[EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION: The foreign policies of free Africa have been shaped by the colonial experience and the nationalist movements that followed it. Today, African leaders are bent on keeping their hard-won freedom, protecting it from the threat—as they see it—of neo-colonialism.

If foreign aid means foreign control, they reject it; if it means taking sides in the "Cold War," they likewise reject it. Most African nations, including Tanzania, are nonaligned; they accept help from both East and West, provided that there are no strings attached. Such policies are neither anti-East nor anti-West, but pro-African.

In the light of past colonial experience, it is natural that Africans would be concerned about the "meddling" of large nations in the affairs of smaller nations. It is even more natural that they would be incensed by the continued existence of European colonies on the African continent.

The following selection is an excerpt from a speech by Tanzania's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. S. Mhando, to the General Assembly of the United Nations, on September 24, 1969. The speech focuses on what Mr. Mhando

* From a speech delivered by Mr. S. Mhando, Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the United Nations General Assembly, September 24, 1969.

called the two most crucial world concerns of Tanzania: exploitation and racism.

The "Madame President" referred to is Miss Angie Brooks, of Liberia, the President of U.N. General Assembly in 1969–70. Miss Brooks, the 24th President, was the third African and the second woman to hold the post. The first woman was Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, of India, in 1953–54.

As you read this selection, think of this question:

What examples of exploitation and racism does Mr. Mhando cite?]

Madame President,

I take this opportunity, on behalf of my government and my delegation, to congratulate you on your election as President of this Session and to wish you great success in guiding its deliberations. . . . Let me say that the entire family of African people is proud of the recognition given to one of its most respected and beloved daughters by your election to the Presidency of this General Assembly. The whole continent shares with your country, Liberia, a sense of pride and happiness that one of its citizens has been honored by the international community and given the heavy responsibility of your present position. We are confident that your sense of justice and fair dealing will be evident throughout the work of this Assembly, and that the reputation of Africa will be further enhanced by your activities here. . . .

Madame President: It is inevitable that during the General Debate each member state speaks first on those problems which engage its efforts and resources day-by-day and which directly affect the well-being of its people. For us in Tan-

zania, and for the members of the Organization of African Unity, the continued presence in Africa of colonialism, exploitation, and racism is the most pressing international problem. . . . For long periods of recent history Africa has been exploited and its people humiliated. Even today, in the last half of the twentieth century, large numbers of African people are still deliberately and brutally denied that human equality and those human rights which have been proclaimed by the United Nations. Our people in Mozambique, in Angola, in Guiné (Bissau), in so-called French Somaliland, and in the Comoro Islands are still suffering under colonialism—often in its most brutal forms. And the peoples of South Africa, Namibia [South West Africa], and Zimbabwe [Rhodesia] are still struggling under ruthless economic exploitation and vicious racism.

Madame President: Independent Africa has a duty to ask: "For how long must this go on?" Tanzania and all these countries and peoples who share our opposition to tyranny, slavery, and the abuse of human dignity are asking now: "For how long will this situation be tolerated? For how long will the United Nations allow this to be camouflaged by clouds of legality and myth?" . . .

Portugal and South Africa have refused to accept the principles of human equality and self-determination. These administrations have denied the ideals on which the United Nations was founded, and which all members are supposed to accept.

* * *

Neither Portuguese fascism nor the brutal suppression and exploitation of the African people by South Africa and Rhodesia could alone have checked the African march to freedom. . . . But these oppressors are not alone; they are

strengthened by many of the same states whose representatives come to this rostrum and express their detestation of *apartheid* and their devotion to the principles of national self-determination. . . .

Portugal could never manage to maintain its hold over the territories of Mozambique, Angola, and Guiné (Bissau) without massive support (well known to every inquiring member of this Assembly) from the members of NATO. Portugal could not survive for one year without loans and capital injections into its economy from the Western imperialist countries. . . . South Africa and Rhodesia also maintain their oppressive regimes because of the backing they receive from the imperialist countries' exploitation of Africa's wealth.

* * *

It is known, and it can be proved before this Assembly, that the imperialist countries are equipping the Portuguese army partly in return for the use of military and so-called communication-satellite-tracking stations at Beja and Alverca and the Lajes base in the Azores Islands. [Rerefence here is to U.S. agreements with Portugal.] The other purpose of this equipment is to strengthen Portugal's defense of the imperialists' investments in the Portuguese colonial territories.

It is unnecessary for me to explain from where Portugal gets the P2V, P2V5, the Lockheed, and the North American F84 and F86 planes. Nor do I have to enlarge upon the origin of other military planes such as the Allouette helicopters and the Fiat 91. But all these weapons are being used by Portugal in her colonial wars. It is also true that the Portuguese navy is equipped with ships and submarines from the same NATO countries. . . . [See "Unfinished Business: Mozambique" in Unit V.]

Madame President: The Western countries also continue to

provide the racist government of South Africa with the economic support it needs. . . . The list of companies from the imperialist countries which are involved in the exploitation of the economic wealth in southern Africa is, in fact, so long that it is impossible to expose them all. From 1967 alone, a number of American, Japanese, British, South African, and West German companies have entered into partnerships for the joint exploitation of the wealth in the territories held and controlled by the Portuguese fascists. . . .

The same forces are in operation in Rhodesia. Smith's rebellion and defiance of world public opinion has been possible because the British government has refused to take the measures necessary to topple that regime. . . . Tanzania cannot be silent on this matter. We cannot see all this double-dealing, with the British government saying that sanctions will eventually "bite" while at the same time it is itself a trading partner of Rhodesia through South Africa. Tanzania will continue to call for drastic measures, including the use of force, to oust the settler regime; and it pledges itself to support the struggle to recapture their independence that is being waged in that country by the African people. . . .

There will be, no doubt, explanations for increased economic and trade relations between southern Africa and some member countries of the United Nations. This Assembly will, in addition, hear proclamations of the indignation these countries claim to feel against the barbaric and oppressive systems in southern Africa. And the Assembly will pass new resolutions. Then these member countries will forget the whole question until next year. Meanwhile, Portugal will increase its criminal activities in Africa; South Africa and Rhodesia will increase their grip on the people who are already suffocating from the present yoke of *apartheid*. And

This cartoon appeared during the visit of U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers to Africa in early 1970. African leaders asked Secretary Rogers for American help in liberating the white-dominated areas of Africa, but Secretary Rogers said that the United States could not get involved militarily.

the peoples' wars for freedom will go on, with increased numbers of dead, and more people maimed and burned.

Madame President: In the rest of the world a number of conflicts exist in which the powerful nations are exercising their might in violation of the fundamental rights of all peoples to independence and human dignity. Just as we in Africa experience colossal and outmoded systems of oppression, so the Asian continent daily sees the effects of that delirium of power which has, throughout history, characterized the be-

havior of powerful nations. In Vietnam, in particular, United States imperialism has continued committing wanton crimes against the innocent Vietnamese people. . . . Tanzania, therefore, once again calls on the United States and her allies to withdraw all their troops. . . .

Also in Asia, Madame President, the United States—which has appropriated to itself the role of international policeman—continues to make it impossible for the Korean people to realize their aspirations of national unification. The numerous aggressive acts perpetrated by the United States against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the suppression of progressive workers, students, peasants, and intellectuals of South Korea, all illustrate the dangers which are inherent in the exercise of United States might in the world. The United Republic of Tanzania therefore calls upon the United States to withdraw its occupying forces from Korea; to leave the Korean people to decide their fate; and to honor their decision when it is made. . . . Only by such actions will the United States demonstrate that she has accepted her responsibility as a great power which respects the obligations of membership to this Assembly of Nations. The world has seen enough proof of the military powers of the United States; we have seen enough proof of her technological advancement and financial strength. The world, Madame President, is waiting to see proof that the United States can also demonstrate to us her moral prowess.

Madame President: While surveying the problems which have been forced on the Asian continent, I would like to express the disappointment of the people and government of Tanzania about the continued attempt to isolate the People's Republic of China, and to prevent it from taking its proper place as a member of the United Nations and a permanent

member of the Security Council. We have been aware for a long time of the pressure and blackmail that have been used by China's enemies to confuse and cloud the issue at the meetings of this Assembly. We can only deplore these actions, and point out that attempts to isolate a great nation of over 800 million people are, in the long run, not only absurd but dangerous as well. . . .

The People's Republic of China is the unquestionable and only representative of the Chinese people. There is no other. Taiwan is a colony which is used by United States imperialism as a launching pad for aggression in the Far East. There is no justification for the opposition to China's representation in the United Nations. It is Tanzania's hope that the futility of this attitude will be recognized in the near future, and that China will soon take her rightful place among the nations here.

Madame President: At every session of this assembly great anxiety has been expressed about the rate at which certain powers are developing and stocking their arsenals with nuclear weapons. This anxiety still exists and is justified. We are rightly demanding that these nuclear powers pledge themselves not to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear states. Further, we demand that they progressively and rapidly reduce their stockpiles of these weapons and stop further development in this field. Too little has been achieved so far. For while the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty demands that non-nuclear states undertake not to develop nuclear weapons, the nuclear powers themselves have not renounced the use of these weapons. The implications are very clear. One can only conclude that nuclear blackmail is the next phase of neo-colonialism. . . .

No nation wishes to have its existence dependent upon the decisions, the good will, and indeed the grace of another state. The United Republic of Tanzania has said at all forums dealing with this question that we deplore the development of nuclear technology for war purposes. We support the reduction of these evil weapons which threaten the very existence of mankind, and we support all efforts geared at stopping their further stockpiling. . . .

Madame President: I cannot end my statement without commenting on another situation which threatens peace and harmonious relations in the present world. For while the present centers of conflict are alarming, in the long run the almost certain confrontation between the rich and the poor nations promises to be even more frightening. Whatever reasons and theories are advanced to explain the growing gap between the rich and the poor, it would be naive and indeed self-deceiving to ignore the essential character of economic, social, and political relations between the developing nations. International terms of trade which affect adversely the economies of the poor nations; investments and loans that have usually been more burdensome than helpful; the unwillingness of the rich nations to advance to the developing countries even the equivalent of 1 per cent of their gross national product; all these and many other things have conspired (and not accidentally) to keep the poor countries poor, and getting poorer, while the rich countries are getting richer. . . .

We must be honest with ourselves. The institutions and attitudes prevailing in international economic relations today have been built up, and are deliberately supported, for the benefit of those who already have wealth. Only when the

poor nations face up to this fact will they start to tackle the real causes of their slow growth—if not economic stagnation. . . .

The recurring tendency of the General Assembly has been to attempt reforms of precisely the same institutions and attitudes which have been created to serve the capitalist interests of the developed countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the United Nations has not been able to develop a solution to the problem of world poverty. . . . In Tanzania we have realized that self-reliance, coupled with vigorous moves to wrest the means of production from foreign hands and to control them in the interest of the people, is the only way by which an effective attack on poverty can be mounted.

Nevertheless, we feel it is our duty to point out the discrepancy between the developed nations' proclaimed commitment to the war on world poverty and the simultaneous exploitation by international monopolies of the labor of our people and the riches of our countries. . . .

Madame President: The basic purpose of the United Nations is to create and maintain international peace, but it has long been realized that this is only possible if the United Nations is successful in the promotion of international justice. In all the matters I have referred to—from the situation in southern Africa to the economic conflict between the rich and the poor nations—justice simply does not exist, and therefore peace is not assured. . . .

Madame President: Tanzania is pledged to support the United Nations in its practical actions for peace and justice. My delegation therefore undertakes to make every effort within its power to contribute to the success of the work of this assembly.

Madame President: Thank you.